

AN  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
EARLY OPINIONS  
CONCERNING  
J E S U S C H R I S T,  
COMPILED FROM  
ORIGINAL WRITERS;  
PROVING THAT THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH WAS  
AT FIRST UNITARIAN.

By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F.R.S.

AC, IMP. PETROP. PARIS. HOLM. TAURIN. AUREL. MED.  
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VOL. II.

*Vana Philosophorum verba, quæ in doctrinis Platonice ecclesiæ  
parvulos interimebant.*

JEROM.

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# C O N T E N T S

OF THE

## SECOND VOLUME.

### B O O K I.

**T**HE History of Opinions which preceded  
the Doctrine of the Divinity of Christ,  
and which prepared the Way for it.  
[Continued.] Page 1

#### CHAPTER VIII.

*Of the Platonism of Philo.*                      *ibid.*

### B O O K II.

Containing the History of the Doctrine of  
the Trinity.                      23

#### CHAPTER I.

*Of Christian Platonism.*                      *ibid.*

#### CHAPTER II.

*Of the Generation of the Son from the Fa-  
ther.*                      44

A 2

SEC-



iv CONTENTS.

SECTION I.

*The Doctrine of the Platonizing Fathers concerning the Generation of the Son, as the second Person in the Trinity, stated. Page 44*

SECTION II.

*Authorities for this Opinion from Justin Martyr to Origen. 53*

SECTION III.

*Authorities from Origen, and other Writers subsequent to him; with an Account of other Attributes of the Father, besides that of Wisdom, which Christ is said to have been. 68*

CHAPTER III.

*The Defence of the preceding Doctrine by the Fathers. 86*

SECTION I.

*The Generation of the Son from the Father illustrated by the uttering of Words. 88*

SECTION II.

*The Generation of the Son from the Father illustrated by the prolation of a Branch of a Tree from the Root, &c. 100*

## C O N T E N T S.

### SECTION III.

*Why only one Son was generated, the Objection of Generation implying Passion considered, and why the Son and Holy Spirit did not generate, &c.* Page 115

### SECTION IV.

*Whether the Generation of the Son was in Time, and also whether it was a voluntary or involuntary Act of the Father.* 128

### CHAPTER IV.

*The inferiority of the Son to the Father, shewn to have been the Doctrine of all the Antenicene Fathers.* 145

### CHAPTER V.

*Of the Power and Dignity of Christ as the pre-existing Logos of the Father.* 172

### CHAPTER VI.

*Christ, beside being the Logos of the Father, was thought to have a proper human Soul.* 198

CHAP-



vi C O N T E N T S.

CHAPTER VII.

*Of the Union between the Logos, and the Soul  
and Body of Christ, and their separate pro-  
perties.* Page 224

SECTION I.

*Of this Union in general.* ibid.

SECTION II.

*Of the Ignorance of Christ concerning the Day  
of Judgment.* 234

SECTION III.

*Opinions concerning the Body of Christ.* 246

CHAPTER VIII.

*Of the Use of the Incarnation, and the Objec-  
tions that were made to the Doctrine.* 258

CHAPTER IX.

*Of the Controversy relating to the Holy  
Spirit.* 268

SECTION I.

*Opinions concerning the Holy Spirit before the  
Council of Nice.* 270

S E C-

C O N T E N T S. vii

SECTION II.

*Opinions concerning the Holy Spirit after the  
Council of Nice.* Page 285

SECTION III.

*Of the proper Office of the Spirit with respect  
to the Offices of the Father and the Son.* 299

SECTION IV.

*Of the Arguments for the Divinity of the Holy  
Spirit.* 317

CHAPTER X.

*Of the Doctrine of the Trinity after the Coun-  
cil of Nice.* 335

SECTION I.

*The Doctrine of the perfect Equality of all the  
Persons in the Trinity.* 339

SECTION II.

*Of the New Language introduced at and after  
the Council of Nice.* 351

SECTION III.

*Illustrations of the Doctrine of the Trinity.* 362

CHAP.



## CHAPTER XI.

*Of the Arguments by which the Doctrine of the  
Trinity was defended.* Page 392

## SECTION I.

*Arguments from the Old Testament.* *ibid.*

## SECTION II.

*Arguments from the New Testament.* 418

## SECTION III.

*Answers to Objections.* 428

THE

# V O L. II.

## E R R A T A.

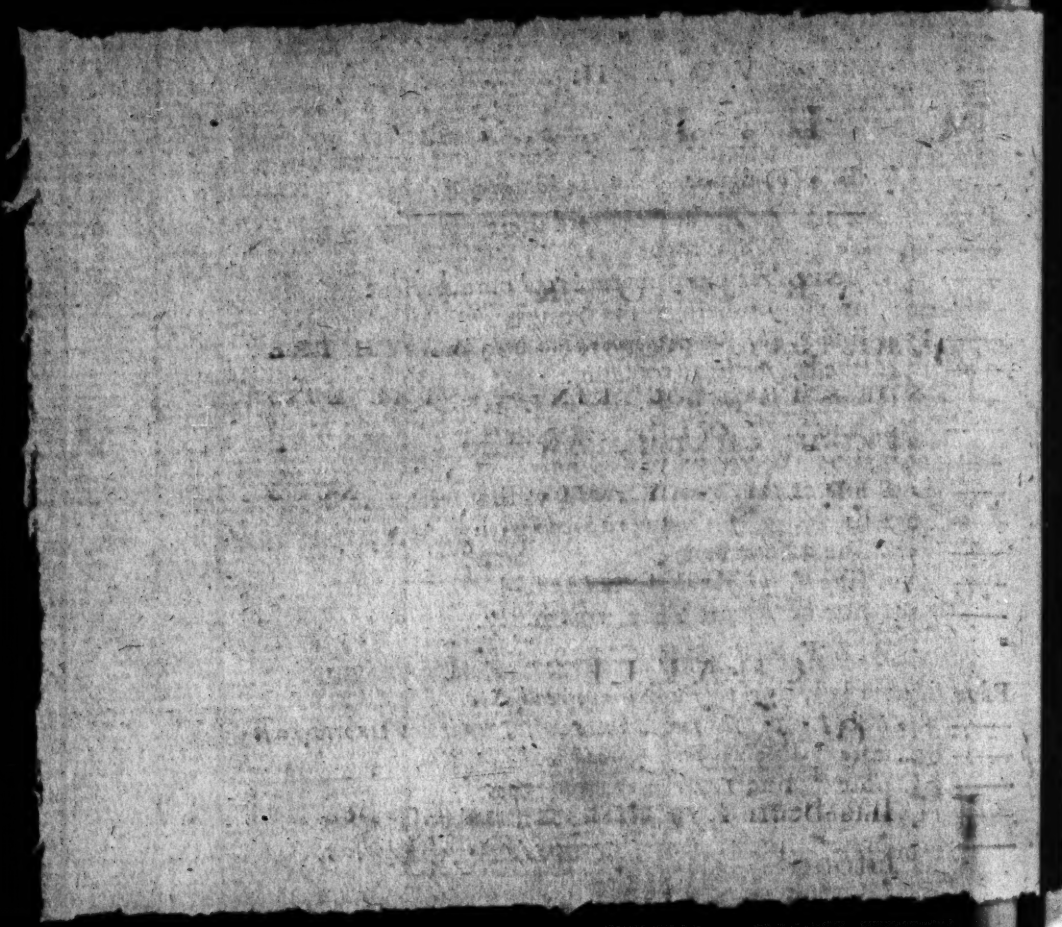
N. B. (b) signifies from the bottom of the page.

- Page 2. line 14. *for his and he, read their and they*  
 — 29. line 7. *for its, read their*  
 — 75. line 12. *for omnipotent, read omnipresent*  
 — 90. line 13. *for being, read beings*  
 — 139. line 3. (b) *for maxims, read maxim*  
 — 154. line 8, *for seal, read son*  
 — 271. line 7. (b) *for Jesus, read of Jesus*  
 — 272. line 6. (b) *for after, read with*  
 — 296. line 10. *for why, read how*  
 — 352. line 7. (b) *for with, read says that with*  
 — 365. line 5. (b) *for between, read with*  
 — 377. line 3. *dele says*  
 — 412. line 8. (b) *for said, read is said*  
 — 413. line 6. *for probably, read justly.*

## R E F E R E N C E S.

- Page 6. note last, line 1. *for Δι αυ, read Δι α*  
 — 34. note † 1. 2. *for οισις κοινοματι, read οισιν ειχονισματι*  
 — 85. note \* line 1. *for ux, read uv*  
 — 95. note \* line 1. *for wap, read wpos*  
 — 114. note \* line 2. *for δυσχεριστως, read ουσχεριστως*  
 — 215. note \* line 4. *for μελεχοις, read μελεχοις*





THE  
HISTORY OF OPINIONS  
CONCERNING  
CHRIST.

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BOOK I.

THE HISTORY OF OPINIONS WHICH PRECEDED THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST, AND WHICH PREPARED THE WAY FOR IT. [CONTINUED]

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CHAPTER VIII.

*Of the Platonism of Philo.*

IT has been seen that among the heathen Platonists, we have found no uniform and serious personification of the divine *nous*, or *logos*, so that it could be considered as a *distinct intelligent person*, but only strong figures, and a dark enigmatical description of the *ideas*, or the supposed *place of ideas* in the divine mind, constituting what they

called the *intelligible world*, or the world to be perceived by the mind, and not by the senses; and which was an exemplar, or pattern, to the visible world. Upon the whole, it may be asserted that the Platonists themselves proceeded no farther than to what may be called a strongly figurative personification of the divine intellect, considered as distinct either from the Divine Being himself, or those more excellent qualities from which he was denominated *the good*; so that it cannot be said that, if the Platonists had been seriously interrogated concerning his real opinion, he would have answered, that *the good*, and his *nous*, or *logos*, were two distinct intelligent persons, each having ideas, and being capable of reasoning and acting, though their language, literally interpreted, will occasionally bear that construction.

In Philo, a Jew of Alexandria, who was contemporary with the apostles, we find something more nearly approaching to a real personification of the *logos*, a term which is much more frequent with him than with the Platonists themselves; and



indeed it was observed, that what they called *nous*, the barbarians called *logos*, which is a literal translation of the Chaldee מלך. Philo says so much concerning *ideas*, and *the intelligible world*, and is withal so eloquent, that it has been justly observed, "either that Plato philonized, or that Philo "platonized\*;" but he was far from advancing so far as the platonizing christians. However, though he did not, like them, make a *permanent intelligent person* of the divine *logos*, he made an *occasional* one of it, making it the visible medium of all the communications of God to man, that by which he both made the world, and also conversed with the patriarchs of the Old Testament.

It will be seen that Philo's own ideas were far from being clear, or consistent, but he is much less confused than the proper heathen Platonists, and he sometimes exhibits a platonism of a simple, and less figurative kind. Thus, after observing that

\* Τοσόνδ' αὖτον τοῖς ἑλλήνεσσι παρὰσχεν δαίματι τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δυναμεύς, οἷς ἔχει λεγεῖν αὐτὸς, ἡ Πλάτων φιλονικεῖ ἢ φιλὸν πλατῶνιζει. Phot. Bib. sect. 105. p. 278.

“an architect constructs a building after an  
 “idea which he has previously formed of  
 “of it in his mind,” he says, “in like  
 “manner, we must judge concerning God,  
 “who, intending to build a magnificent  
 “city, first devised the plan of it, from  
 “which he formed the visible world, using  
 “it as a pattern. As the pre-conceived  
 “plan of the building in the mind of an  
 “architect has no existence externally, but  
 “is stamped upon the mind of the artist,  
 “in like manner this *world of ideas* has no  
 “place but the divine logos, which dis-  
 “poses all things. For what other proper  
 “place can there be to receive, and contain,  
 “not only all ideas, but even a single idea.  
 “It is a world creating power, which has  
 “its source in the *true good*\*.” In another

\* Τα παραπλησία δη ἢ περὶ θεῶν δοξάζειν, ὅς ἀρα τὴν μεγαλοπο-  
 λιν κτίειν διανοήσεις, ἐγένεσθε πρότερον τῆς τύπης αὐτῆς, ἐξ ἧν κοσμον  
 νοήσον συστήσας ἀποτέλει τὸν αἰδηλόν, παραδειγματὶ χρωμένῳ  
 ἐκείνῳ. Καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ ἐν τῷ ἀρχιτεκτονικῷ προδιαλυπωθεῖσα πόλις,  
 χώραν ἐκὸς αὐτῆς εἶχεν, ἀλλ’ ἐνέσφραγιτο τῇ τε τεχνικῇ ψυχῇ, τὸν αὐτοῦ  
 τρόπον, καὶ ὁ ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν κόσμος ἄλλον αὖ ἐχούσι τόπον, ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον  
 τὸν παῖδα διανομήσαντα. Ἐπεὶ τις αὖ ἐπὶ τῶν δυναμῶν αὐτῆς τόπος  
 ἕτερος, ὅς γε νοῦν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ λέγω πάσαις, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀκράτῳ ἢ τινὲν  
 δεῖσθαι τε καὶ χωρῆσαι. Δυναμὶς δὲ καὶ ἡ κοσμοπύκνισις, πῶς γὰρ ἐχ-  
 σαι τὸ πρὸς ἀληθείαν αγαθόν. De Mundi Opificio, p. 4.

passage,



passage also, speaking of the different significations of *place*, he says that “one of them is the divine logos, the whole of which God himself has filled with incorporeal powers\*.” In this place the logos is evidently nothing more than the divine mind itself, or the seat of his ideas; and the *true good*, in the former passage, in which the creative power is said to reside, is the platonic term for the Supreme Being.

Like the other Platonists, Philo does not, however, content himself with giving these *ideas*, or *the intelligible world*, which is composed of them, a place in the divine mind, or *logos*, but he also confounds them with the logos. “To speak plainly,” says he, “the ideal world is no other than the logos of God, who makes the world, nor is an ideal city any other than the reasoning of the architect intending to produce it†.” Agreeable to this use of the

\* Κατά δευτερον δὲ τροπον, ὁ θεὸς λόγος οὐ ἐκπεπληρωκεν ὅλον δι' ὅλων αἰσωματοῖς δυναμέσιν αὐτός ὁ θεός. De Somniis, p. 574.

† Εἰ δὲ τις ἐδελήσεται γυμνῶτεροις χρῆσασθαι τοῖς ὀνομασιν, ἔθεν αὐτὸν ἕτερον εἰποι τὸν νοῦν εἶναι κόσμον, ἢ δὲ λόγον ἢ δὲ κοσμοποιεῖν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ νοῦν πολλὸς ἕτερον τι ἐστίν, ἢ ὁ τῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς λογισμὸς ἢ δὲ τῆς νοῦν πολλὴν ἡλίζειν διακρινόμενα. De Mundi Opificio, p. 5.



term *logos*, as synonymous to the *ideal world*, he says, "The imitation of a perfectly beautiful pattern, must be perfectly beautiful; but the *logos* of God must be more excellent than beauty itself, as it is in nature, without any additional beauty\*."

So far this writer is tolerably intelligible, and so also he is in the following passage, in which he speaks of the ideal world as formed by a power inherent in the divine mind. Speaking of God saying, *Adam will be like one of us*, he says, "Though God be one, he has many powers. By these powers the intelligible and incorporeal world is made, the architype of that which is visible, consisting of invisible ideas, as this does of visible bodies†."

\* Αναγκη δὲ παγκρατὴ παραδειγματὶ παῖκαλον εἶναι μῆμα. Θεὸς δὲ λόγος, καὶ αὐτὴ καλλὴς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ φύσει καλλὸς, ἀμεινών, καὶ κοσμημένος καλλεῖ· κόσμος δ' αὐτὸς ὢν, εἰ δὲι ταλῆδες εἶπειν, ἐμπρεπέντος ἐκείνης. De Mundi Opificio, p. 32.

\* Εἰς ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ἀμυδρὴς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐχει δυνάμεις. Δι' αὐτῶν δυνάμεων ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ νοήτος ἐπ' αὐτῇ κόσμος, τὸ τε φαινόμενον ταδε ἀρχετύπον, ἰδεῖς ἀοράτους συταδεῖς, ὡς περ ἕλος σωμασιν ὁράτοις. De Confusione Linguarum, p. 345.

In

In one passage he speaks of these divine powers by which the invisible world is made as *two*, but he does not explain himself with respect to that particular number. "God," says he, "being one, has two supreme powers. By these powers the incorporeal and ideal world is made, the archetype of the visible world, consisting of invisible ideas, as this is visible to the eyes\*." He likewise speaks of the divine logos as "flowing from the fountain of wisdom like a river†." But in the following passage he makes the logos to be the same with *wisdom*, and thereby makes a nearer approach to the ideas of the christian Fathers. Allegorizing the rivers of paradise, he says concerning one of them, that "it is the river which is productive of goodness. It proceeds from the wisdom of God,

\* Εἰς ὧν ὁ θεὸς δύο τὰς ἀνύλαττον δυνάμεις ἔχει. Διὰ τῶν τούτων δυνάμεων, ὁ ἀσώματος ἢ νοητὸς ἐκπαγὴ κόσμος τὸ τε φαινόμενον τὰδε ἀρχέλυτον, ἰδέαν ἀοράτοις συστάει, ὡς περ εἶλος οὐρανόθεν οὐρανόθεν. De Mundo, p. 1150.

† Καλεῖται δὲ ὡς περ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῆς σοφίας πόταμα τρεῖς ὁ θεὸς λόγος. De Somniis, p. 1141.



“ which is the *logos* of God ; for according  
 “ to this its productive power is made \*.”

But in another place he makes the *logos* to be different from this *wisdom*, which he makes to be the mother of the *logos* ; and this circumstance may, perhaps, throw some light upon the *two divine powers*, by which, in the passage quoted above, he said that the intelligible world was made. Allegorizing Moses’s description of the high priest, he says, “ This high priest does not mean a  
 “ man, but the *logos* of God, free from all  
 “ sin, voluntary or involuntary. When  
 “ Moses forbids him to defile himself on  
 “ account of his father the *nous*, or his mother the *senses*, I think that he must have  
 “ parents incorruptible and holy ; his father God, who is also the father of all,  
 “ and his mother *wisdom*, by which every  
 “ thing was produced†.” In this figura-

\* Πόταμος η γενική εστιν αγαθή. Αυτή εκπορεύεται εκ της τῆς θεῆς σοφίας. Ἡ δὲ εστιν ὁ θεὸς λόγος. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν πεπονηταὶ ἡ γενική ἀρετή. De Mundi Opificio, p. 52.

† Λεγομεν γὰρ τοῦ ἀρχιερεᾶ, ἢ ἀνδρωπον, ἀλλὰ λόγον θεῖον εἶναι, πάντων ἔχ. ἐκαστων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκαστων ἀδυσχημάτων ἀμείνων. εἴτε γὰρ ἐπὶ πατρὶ τῷ γῶ, εἴτε ἐπὶ μητρὶ τῇ αἰσθησὶ φησὶν αὐτὸν Μωυσῆς δυνασθαι



tive and confused manner does Philo at length come to what may be called an intermediate principle between God and the creation. This *logos* he also calls "the image of God, by which all the world was made."

Having got an *image of God*, he likewise makes an image of this image; but his explanation of this I do not pretend fully to understand. Having called "the invisible and intelligible world the divine *logos*, or the *logos* of God, the image of God, and the image of that intelligible light which was the image of that divine *logos*, which explains its origin, It is," he says, "that super-celestial star, which is the

δυνασθαι μαινεσθαι, διότι οὐμαι γονεὺν ἀφ' αὐτῶν καὶ καθ' αὐτῶν εἶχεν, παῖρος μὲν θεῶν, ὅς ἐστι τῶν συμπαντῶν ἐστὶ παῖρ, μήτερος δὲ σοφίας, δι' ἣς τὰ ὅλα ἦλθεν εἰς γένεσιν. De Profugis, p. 466.

Those who are offended at the allegorical method of interpreting the scriptures in Origen, and the other christian Fathers, should be informed that it is not peculiar to them, nor did it originate with them. Philo is as extravagant as any of them in the scope that he gave to his imagination in this way.

\* Λόγος δὲ ἐστὶν εἰκὼν θεῶν, δι' ἣν συμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο. De Monarchia, p. 823.

“ source of the visible stars, and which may  
 “ be called the universal splendor, from  
 “ which the sun, moon, and stars, fixed or  
 “ wandering, derive their respective splen-  
 “ dors \*.”

But beside making the logos to be the image of God, Philo gives it an occasional real personification, and makes it to be the medium of the divine communications to mankind, the symbol of the divine presence, and even to assume the form of an angel, or a man. “ Though no person,” he says, “ is worthy to be called the Son of God, endeavour to be accomplished like his first begotten logos, the most ancient angel, as being the archangel of many names ; for it is called the αρχη” [the beginning or principle] “ the name of God, and the logos, and the man according to his image, and the seer of Israel.

\* Τον δε αορατον κ' νοητον θειον λογον, κ' θεον λογον, εικονα λεγει θεος. Και ταυτης εικονα το νοητον φως εκεινο, ο θεος λογις γεγονεν, εικων τις διερμηνευσατος την γεγενεσιν αυτης. Και εστιν υπερβασιος αστηρ, πηγη των αισθητων αστερων. Ην εκ απο σκοπης καλεσθειεν αν τις πανταυγειον, αφ ης ο ηλιος κ' η σεληνη κ' οι αλλοι πλανηταις τε κ' απλανεις, αρνουσαι καθ' οσον εκαστω δυναμις, τα πρεπονα φελη. De Mundi Opificio, p. 6.

“ For



“ For if we are not worthy to be called the  
 “ sons of God, let us be so of his eternal  
 “ image, the most holy logos; for this most  
 “ ancient logos is the image of God \*.”

Philo supposed that it was this divine logos that had its place between the cherubims in the *Holy of Holies*, but was there invisible. Having described the propitiatory and the cherubims, he says, “ that the  
 “ divine logos is above these, having no  
 “ visible form, as not falling under the  
 “ senses; but is the express image of God,  
 “ the oldest of all intelligible things, and  
 “ there is no medium between it and the  
 “ supreme power.” He then compares it to the charioteer, acting by the command of the person who is carried in the car †.

\* Καν μηδεπω μεντοι τυγχανη τις αξιοχρεως αν υιος θεου προσαγορευεσθαι, σπευδαζε κοσμεισθαι κατὰ τον πρωτογονον αυτου λογον, τον αγγελον πρεσβυτατον, ως αρχαγγελον πολυνυμον υπαρχοντα, η γαρ αρχη, η ονομα θεου, η λογος, η ο και εικονα ανθρωπος, η οραν Ισραηλ προσαγορευεται. Και γαρ ει μητω ικανοι θεου παιδες νομιζεσθαι γεγοναμεν, αλλα τοι της αιδης εικονος αυτου λογος τε ιερωτατε. Θεου γαρ εικων, λογος ο πρεσβυτατος. De Confusione Linguarum, p. 341.

† Ο δ' υπερανω τεσαν λογος θειος, εις ορατην εκ ηλθεν ιδεαν, αλλ' μηδενι των και αισθησιν εμφορης ων, αλλ' αυτος  
 εικων



Calling God the Father, he calls the logos the Son. Having spoken of the high priest as standing before the holy of holies with his breast-plate, which represented the logos, he says, it was necessary that he who officiated as priest to the Father of the world should have his most accomplished Son as an advocate \*.

Having represented the supreme Being in the character of a shepherd and a king, ordering and conducting all the parts of nature, earth, water, fire, plants, animals, the heavenly bodies, &c. he describes the logos as his *first begotten Son*, superintending all these things, as an officer under

εικον υπαρχων θεου, των νοητων απαξαπατων ο προσκυταλος, ο εβγυλιαω, μηδενος οντος μεθοριου διασηματος, τε μονη ο εστιν αψευδως αριθρυμενος. λεγεται γαρ λαλησω σοι ανωθεν τε ιλαστηρι ανα μεσον των δυοιν χειρεσιμ, ωσθ ηριοχον μεν ειναι των δυναμεων του λογον, εποχον δε τον καλεντα επιτελευομενον τω ηριοχω τα προς ορθην τε παντος ηριοχησιν. De Profugis, p. 465.

\* Τος επι των σερνων δωδεκα λιθες εκ τριων καλα τετταρας σοιχες, τε συνεχαλος η διοικηνλος λογη το συμπαν, το λογιον. αναγκαιον γαρ ην τον ιερωμενον τω τε κοσμη πατρι, παρακλητω χρησθαι τελειοτατω την αρετην υιω, προς τε αμνησειαν αμαρτηματων, η χορηγιας αφοδωτατων αγαθων, De Vita Moysis, lib. 3. Opera, p. 673.

him,

him, and likewise as the angel that God told Moses he would send before him\*.

The Platonists having been used to call the world *the child*, or *son* of God, Philo calls it, with respect to the logos, the *younger son*; this being the object of the senses, the other being perceived by the mind only, and as the older son, remaining with the Father†.

We likewise find this logos dignified with the appellation of *god*; but to distinguish him from the supreme God, he says, that the latter is known by the term God with the article prefixed to it, *the God*; whereas the logos, like other inferior gods,

\* Καθαπερ γαρ τινα ποιμνην, γην, και υδωρ, και αερα, και πυρ, και οσα εν τετοις φυτα τε αυ και ζωα, τα μεν θνητα, τα δε θεια, επι δε ηραν φυσιν, και ηλιu και σεληνης περιoδoς, και των αλλων ασερων τροπας τε αυ και χορειας εναρμονιες, ως ποιμην και βασιλευς ο θεος αγει κατα δικην και νομον, προσησταμενος τον ορδαν αυτε λογον πρωτογονον υιον, ος την επιμελειαν της ιερας ταυτης αγγελης, οια τι μεγαλη βασιλεως υπαρχος διαδεχεται. και γαρ ειρηται πα. ιδε εγω ειμι, αποσελω αγγελον με εις προσωπον σε τε φυλαξαι εν τη οδω. *De Agricultura*, p. 195.

† Ο μεν γαρ κοσμος εντ' νεωτερος υιος θεu, απε διoδητ'ων. τον γαρ πρεσβυτερον τετε κλινα ειπε: νοητ' δ' εκεινος, πρεσβειων δ' αξιωσας, παρ' εαυτω καταμενειν διενοηθη. *On the Immutability of God*, Opera, p. 298.

is



is only called God without the article. Speaking of the God who appeared to Abraham, he says, "The true God is one, but  
 " those who are figuratively so called are  
 " many; wherefore the sacred word on this  
 " occasion distinguishes the true God by  
 " the article, I am *the* God, but he that is  
 " so called figuratively without the article;  
 " he that appeared to thee in the place, not  
 " of *the* God, but only of God. For here  
 " he gives the name of God to his most  
 " ancient logos, not being solicitous about  
 " the name, but respecting the end which  
 " he proposed \*."

Philo, notwithstanding his Platonism, was so much a Jew, that he ascribed proper creation to God the Father only, and the forming of created matter to the logos. "God," says he, "who made all things, not only made them to appear, but pro-

\* Ο μὲν ἀληθεὶς θεός, εἰς ἐστίν. οἱ δ' ἐν κατὰχρησιν γενομένοι, πλείους. διὰ καὶ ὁ ἱερός λόγος ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὸν μὲν ἀληθεῖα, διὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς μεμνηνύκειν, εἰπὼν. Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός· τὸν δὲ κατὰχρησιν χωρὶς ἀρετῆς, φασκὼν, ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σοὶ ἐν τοπῷ, καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἀλλὰ αὐτομόνον, δεξ. Καλεῖ δὲ τὸν θεὸν τὸν πρεσβυτάτον αὐτὸς νυνὶ λόγον, καὶ δεισιδαιμονῶν περὶ τὴν θεσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων. ἀλλ' ἐν τέλει προσήκειν πρὸς ἀπολογισμὸν. De Somniis, p. 599.



“duced what was not before, being not  
 “only a *former*, but a *creator* \*.” But of  
 the logos (according to the likeness of  
 which man was made) he says, that “he,  
 “being produced, imitating his Father, and  
 “regarding his patterns, reduced things  
 “into form †.”

It might be imagined that the Divine  
 Being, by the emission of this logos in so  
 substantial a form, would be deprived of  
 some of his proper power; but to this Philo  
 would probably have replied, that this *se-*  
*cond God* was only like a lamp lighted at the  
 original fountain of light, which did not  
 diminish its substance or splendor. For he  
 does apply this comparison (which is so  
 commonly used by the early christian Fa-  
 thers) to the case of Moses, whose spirit  
 God is said to take from him, in order  
 to impart it to the seventy-two elders.  
 “This,” he says, “is not to be understood

\* Ο θεος τα πάντα γεννησας & μονον εις τεμψανες ηγαγεν, αλλα &  
 & προτερον εκ ην, εποισεν. & δημιουργος μονον, αλλα & κτιστης αυτος  
 ων. De Somniis, p. 577.

† Ο γεννηθεις μεντοι μιμημενος τας τε πατρος οδους προς παραδειγ-  
 ματα αρχετυπα εκεινς βλεπων, εμορφη ειδη. De Confusione Lin-  
 guarum, p. 329.

“ as if he suffered any loss thereby, but it  
 “ was like the lighting of one torch by  
 “ another, which is not diminished by that  
 “ means, though ten thousand be lighted  
 “ by it \*.” Or he might have supposed  
 that the loss sustained by the emission of  
 the logos was only temporary, because he  
 thought that the emission of the logos only  
 resembled the emission of light from the  
 sun, which was afterwards drawn into its  
 source again.

According to Philo, angels are nothing  
 more than this divine logos; so that he  
 could not consider them as having a per-  
 manent being. Speaking of Hagar, he says,  
 “ She was met by an angel, which is the  
 “ logos of God, advising her to return to  
 “ her mistress, and encouraging her †.”

\* Δεγείσαι γὰρ, ὅτι ἀφελὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ σοί, καὶ ἐπιθήσω  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐξδομηκένου πρεσβυτέρου. ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης εἶναι τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν  
 κατὰ ἀπώλειαν καὶ διαζευξίν γινέσθαι, ἀλλὰ οἷα γενεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πυρός, ὅ-  
 καν μυρίας δαδάς ἐξέλθῃ, μένει μηδὲν ἐλαττωθεὶν ἐν ὁμοίᾳ. De Gi-  
 gantibus, p. 287.

† Σημείον δὲ, τὸ ὑπαίτιαν αὐτῇ ἀγγελὸν θεῖον λόγον, ἅ ἡ ἀπαραινέσθον-  
 ῖα, καὶ ὑψηλοῦσιν ἐπαυδοῦς τῆς εἰς τοὺν θεοποιῆς οἶκον, ὅς καὶ θαρσυνῶν  
 φησὶν, Βαπτίσας κυριὸς τὴν ταπεινώσει σὲ, ἣν εἶς διὰ φόβον εἰσέχες, εἶς διὰ  
 μίσος. De Profugis, p. 451.

And



And treating of the migration of Abraham, he says, "He that follows God must of necessity make use of the attending *logoi*, which are commonly called angels \*."

Thus it is evident, that Philo made a much more substantial personification of the divine *logos* than any of the proper Platonists had done; and it is very possible, that by the perusal of his writings, the christian Fathers, to whom they could not be unknown, might be led to their still more enlarged system of personification. As Philo had represented the divine *logos* as being the immediate agent in all the communications of God to the patriarchs, they had nothing to do beside making this *logos* to be the same with Christ, and their scheme was very nearly completed. But Philo himself was far from imagining that the *logos* had any more relation to the Messiah than to any other prophet. According to him, it was the medium of the divine communica-

\* Ο δε επομενος θεω, κατὰ ταναγκαν συνδοσιπορος χρηται τοις ακολουθοις αὐτῶν λόγοις, ὅς ονομαζεν ἐθὺς ἀγγέλους. De Migratione Abraham, p. 415.



tions with the prophets, but was never supposed to reside with any of them, and much less to be inseparably attached to them, or to animate them. The *logos* was still a *divine influence*, or *efflux*, apprehended to be something belonging to the Divine Being, though occasionally emitted from him, and drawn into him again, when the purpose for which it had been emitted was answered. Where Philo ended the doctrine of personification, that of the christian Fathers began. The difference was that, whereas Philo thought the emission of the *logos* to be occasional, and to assume various forms, particularly that of angels, the christian Fathers thought it to be uniform and permanent, and interpreted it of Christ only.

But the first christians who adopted this opinion of the emission of a divine *logos*, or *efflux*, went very little farther than Philo, saying, as Justin Martyr explains their opinion, that this *logos*, which had been that which appeared to Moses and the patriarchs, in the form of a luminous cloud, or *glory*, which had sometimes assumed the form of

a man, and constituted what are called *angels*, was likewise in Jesus Christ, and enabled him to work miracles, &c. Since, however, according to their opinion, nothing was emitted from God but what he could at pleasure, draw into himself again, just as a beam of light was supposed to go out of the sun, and go back to its source (without indeed being ever separated from it) they who held it were properly *philosophical unitarians*; and this is the opinion that is ascribed to Marcellus of Ancyra, and other acknowledged unitarians of early times. Athenagoras held this doctrine with respect to the *Holy Spirit*, though he followed Justin Martyr in supposing that, after the emission of the *logos*, before the creation of the world, it always remained a person, distinct from the Father, and constituted *the Son*, or *Christ*.

With respect to the Jews, it is evident that, in general, they did not use the term *logos* in the Platonic sense, but as synonymous to *God*, or the mere token, or symbol, of the divine presence. The Chaldee paraphrasts often use the term מִמְרָא, *mimra*,



which may be translated *logos*, or *word*, as Gen. i. 27. *The word of the Lord created man*, instead of, *the Lord created man*. Gen. ix. 12. *This is the token of the covenant which I make between my word and you*, instead of *between me and you*. But that, in the ideas of these writers, the *word* of a person was merely synonymous to *himself*, is evident from their application of the same phraseology to man. Thus the same paraphraser says, Numb. xv. 32. *A certain man said in his word, I will go forth and gather sticks on the sabbath-day*, when he could only mean that *he said to himself*, or purposed in his own mind. Ecclef. i. 2. *Solomon said in his word, Vanity of vanities*, &c. 2 Sam. iii. 15, 16. *Phaltiel put a sword between his word and Michal, the daughter of Saul*, i. e. between himself and Michal, as is justly observed by Mr. Lindsey, in the Sequel to his Apology, p. 381.

Phraseology similar to this is used in the book called the *Wisdom of Solomon*; when the author, describing the plagues of Egypt, says, chap. xviii. 15. *Thine Almighty word leaped down from heaven, out of thy royal throne,*



*throne, as a fierce man of war, into the midst of a land of destruction, and brought thine unfeigned commandment, as a sharp sword, and standing up, filled all things with death; and it touched the heavens, but it stood upon the earth. But that this is only a figurative description of the power of God, reaching from heaven to earth, is evident from the language of the whole chapter, where those plagues are ascribed to God, and to no other being whatever, chap. xix. 9. For they went at large, &c. praising thee, O Lord, who hadst delivered them.*



THE  
HISTORY OF OPINIONS  
CONCERNING  
CHRIST.

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BOOK II.  
CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

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CHAPTER I.

*Of Christian Platonism.*

HAVING shewn what were the boasted principles of the Platonic school, as held by Plato himself, by his followers about the time of the christian æra, and by Philo ; let us now see what use was made of them by the philosophizing christians, many of whom were educated in the Platonic school of Alexandria. Absurd and confused as the system must



appear to us at this day, it should be considered that it was the only philosophy that was in vogue at the time of the promulgation of christianity; so that persons of a liberal education could not well be supposed to adopt any other. In that age, the chief subject of deliberation was the choice of a master in philosophy; and though those who then gave lectures at Alexandria, claimed the privilege of selecting what they thought proper from the systems of all the philosophers, and on that account called themselves *Eclectics*, the different doctrines were so discordant, that it was not much of any of them that could be adopted into any other.

Accordingly, we find that, with respect to every thing of much consequence, such as the doctrine concerning God, the maker and governor of the world, and the *first principles* of all things, the philosophers of Alexandria were, or pretended to be, wholly Platonists. And it must be allowed that, compared with other systems, there were many things exceedingly specious in the doctrine of Plato, and such as would

would render it peculiarly captivating to religious and pious persons, who were shocked with the principles of Aristotle, as leading to atheism, and who revolted at the rigour of the stoics, but were charmed with the *sublimity* of Plato. Also, the air of *mystery* which accompanied his doctrine would not, perhaps, upon the whole, lessen the favourable impression which it was calculated to make upon the mind.

The things which most struck the christians in Platonism, were the doctrine of one God, a being of perfect goodness, that of his universal providence, that of the soul, and its immortality, and that of the improvement of the mind consisting in its resemblance to God, and a kind of union with him. These things pleased the christians so much, that they persuaded themselves that Plato had actually borrowed them from the writings of Moses, with which they said he might have been acquainted during his residence in Egypt, or in his travels in the East. Justin Martyr, and others of the Fathers, insist much upon this. It was on account of this supposed



posed resemblance between Platonism and the doctrine of the scriptures, that this philosophy was thought to be the best preparation for the study of christianity; and that it was even imagined that it was given to the world by a particular providence, as introductory to the christian dispensation. "The Greek philosophy," says Clemens Alexandrinus, "cleanses the mind and prepares it for the reception of faith, on which truth builds knowledge\*." Other extracts will be given from this writer hereafter, which will more clearly shew what his ideas on this subject were.

That christians were really struck with the principles of Platonism above-mentioned, is not a matter of conjecture only, but appears clearly in their writings. M. Felix says, that "according to Plato's Timæus, God is the parent of the world, the author of the soul, and the maker of things in heaven and earth. It is nearly," says he, "the same doctrine with our

\* Φιλοσοφία δὲ ἡ Ἑλληνική, οὕτω προκαθαίρει καὶ προεδίδει τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς παραδοχὴν πίστεως, ἐφ' ἣ τὴν γνῶσιν ἐποικοδομεῖ ἡ ἀληθεύς. Strom., lib. 7. Opera, p. 710.

"own."



“own\*.” Tertullian says that “Plato’s philosophy considers God as caring for all things, as an arbiter and judge†.” Irenæus says that “Plato was more religious than the heretics, in that he acknowledged the same God to be just and good, omnipotent, and a judge‡.” Clemens Alexandrinus commends Plato as having made the end of man to be to resemble God, whereas the stoics said that it was to live according to nature§.” Origen also commends Plato as having made happiness to consist in the greatest likeness to God possible||. Justin Martyr speaks of Plato

\* Platoni itaque in Timeo Deus est ipso suo nomine mundi parens, artifex animæ cœlestium terrenorumque fabricator. Eadem fere et ista quæ nostra sunt. Sect. 19. p. 96.

† Platonici quidem, curantem rerum, et arbitrum, et judicem. Ad Nationes, sect. 2. Opera, p. 54.

‡ Quibus religiosior Plato ostenditur, qui eundem Deum et justum, et bonum, confessus est, habentem potestatem omnium, ipsum facientem judicium. Lib. 3. cap. 45. p. 269.

§ Ενλευθεν οι μεν Σιωτικοι, το τέλος της φιλοσοφιας, το ακολουθως τη φυσει ζην, ειρηκασι. Πλατων δε, ομοιωσιν θεω, ως εν τω δευτερω παρρησιασμεν Στρωμαλει. Strom. lib. 5. p. 594.

|| Την δε ευδαιμονιαν εινα φησιν ομοιωση θεω, και το δυνατον. Philocalia, p. 127.

as teaching that the world was made by the word of God, out of the things that Moses spake of, meaning probably the chaos\*, and that the soul of man is immortal†.

The christian writers, however, are ready enough to acknowledge that they did not adopt the principles of Plato indiscriminately. Origen says, that “in some things  
“ philosophy agrees with the law of God,  
“ and in other things is contrary to it; for  
“ many of the philosophers say that there is  
“ one God, who made all things; and some  
“ of them have added, that God made and  
“ governs all things by his word‡.” “In  
“ saying that all things were made and dis-

\* Ωςτε λόγω θεος ἐκ τῶν υποκειμένων καὶ προδηλωθέντων δια Μωσέως γεγενῆσθαι τὸν πάντα κόσμον, καὶ Πλάτων, καὶ οἱ ταῦτα λεγόντες, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμαρδομεν, καὶ ὑμεῖς πείσθηναι δύνασθε. Apol. i. p. 86.

† Καὶ μὲν Πλάτων, ψυχὴν πάντα ἀθανάτην, κενεραγε λεγών. Ad Græcos, p. 7.

‡ Philosophia enim neque in omnibus legi Dei contraria est, neque in omnibus consona. Multi enim philosophorum unum esse Deum, qui cuncta creaverit, scribunt. In hoc consentiunt legi Dei. Aliquantum etiam hoc addiderunt, quod Deus cuncta per verbum suum et fecerit, et regat, et verbum Dei sit quo cuncta moderentur. Opera, vol. i. p. 46.

“ posed

“posed by God,” Justin Martyr says, “we agree with Plato, and in respect to the conflagration, with the Stoics\*.” And in a later period, when it was perceived that the heretics availed themselves of the principles of Plato, some of the orthodox Fathers were sensible of its mischievous tendency. Thus Jerom says, “The vain words of the philosophers, which in the doctrines of Plato, kill the infants of the church, are turned into divine vengeance and blood to them†.”

We have the most direct evidence of some of the most distinguished writers among the christians being charmed with the doctrines of Plato, but especially Justin Martyr, who seems to have been the first who applied the principles of that philosophy to the advancement of the personal dignity of Christ,

\* Τῷ γὰρ λεγεῖν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ θεῶν πάντα κηρυσμείσθαι καὶ γεγενῆσθαι, Πλάτωνος δοξομένην λεγεῖν δογμα. τῷ δὲ ἐκπύρωσιν γενέσθαι Σίμωνων.  
Apol. i. p. 31

† Vana philosophorum verba, quæ in doctrinis Platonis ecclesiæ parvulos interimebant, in ultionem divinam illis conversa est, et in cruorem. In Pl. 77. Opera, vol. 7. p. 97.

and



and to enlarge his sphere of action in the world. Marks of Justin's fondness for this philosophy appear in many parts of his writings; and it is not to be wondered at, as he had been addicted to it before he came to be a christian\*. He says "the notion of incorporeal things, and the doctrine of ideas, charmed me†." What mischief was done to the christian system by this doctrine of *ideas* will presently appear.

Athenagoras taught the Platonic philosophy in public at Alexandria, and almost all the eminent writers among the christians, of that and the following age, are well known either to have been educated there, or to have acquired a fondness for the philosophy that was taught both there and at Athens at the same time.

Austin, speaking of the principles of Plato, says, that "by changing a few words and sentences, the Platonists would become christians, as many of those of later

\* Και γὰρ αὐτός εἰμι, τοῖς Πλάτωνος χαίρων διδασκαλίᾳ. Apol. 2. p. 127.

† Καὶ μετρήσθη τῶν ἀσώματων νοήσις, καὶ ἡ θεωρία τῶν ἰδεῶν ἀνεπλήρης μοι τὴν φρονήσιν. Dial. p. 141.

" times

“times have done \*.” He says that “he  
 “learned in some books of the Platonists,  
 “translated into Latin, though not in so  
 “many words, the doctrine of the logos,  
 “as contained in the introduction to the  
 “gospel of John; that it was with God,  
 “and was God, and that the world was  
 “made by it, &c. but not the doctrine of  
 “the incarnation †.”

I am ready enough to join with these  
 christian writers in their admiration of many

\* Et paucis mutatis verbis atque sententiis christiani fere-  
 rent, sicut plerique recentiorum nostrorumque temporum  
 Platonici fecerunt. De Vera Religione, cap. 4. Opera,  
 vol. 1. p. 704.

† Procuraſti mihi per quendam hominem immaniſſimo  
 typho turgidum, quosdam Platoniorum libros ex Græca  
 lingua in Latinam verſos: et ibi legi: non quidem his  
 verbis, ſed hoc idem omnino multis et multiplicibus ſua-  
 deri rationibus, quod in principio erat verbum, et verbum  
 erat apud Deum, et Deus erat verbum: hoc erat in prin-  
 cipio apud Deum, omnia per ipſum facta ſunt, et ſine ipſo  
 factum eſt nihil quod factum eſt: in eo, vita eſt, et vita  
 erat lux hominum, et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebræ eam  
 non comprehenderunt. Confess. Opera, vol. 1. p. 128.

Item ibi legi quia Deus verbum non ex carne, non ex  
 ſanguine, non ex voluntate viri, non ex voluntate carnis,  
 ſed ex Deo natus eſt. Sed quia verbum caro factum eſt,  
 et habitavit in nobis non ibi legi. Ibid.

things .

things in the philosophy of Plato, compared with other systems existing at the same time, and wish that they could be detached from the rest of the system, in which there is so much confusion and absurdity, as I have clearly pointed out. But, unhappily, these admirers of Plato carried their admiration much too far; and as we have seen, in the case of Justin and Austin, were more particularly struck with that very part of this system, namely, that concerning the doctrine of *ideas*, and the divine intellect, *nous*, or *logos*, in which the greatest darkness and absurdity belonging to it is found. The reason was, that this part of the system, having been previously adopted by Philo, furnished them with a pretence for representing their master in a more reputable light than that of a *mere man*, who had no higher origin than being born in Judea. In what manner they availed themselves of the doctrine of Plato for this purpose, will be seen after I have represented what they imagined the principles of Plato, with respect to the *logos* and other things connected with it, to have been.

I shall



I shall begin with observing, that even the christian Fathers do not uniformly represent the principles of Platonism as very favourable to their doctrine of the personification of the logos. For sometimes they describe those principles as admitting of no more than one proper *mind*, and that belonging to the supreme being, or the first cause, the *second principle* being nothing more than his ideas. “Plato’s three principles,” says Justin Martyr, “are God, “and matter, and idea; God the maker of “all things, matter which was prior to all “production, and which furnished materials “for it, and idea the pattern of every thing “that was made \*.” Clemens Alexandrinus also says, that “Plato considered idea “as the mind of God, the same that barbarians call the logos of God †;” and ob-

\* Τε γὰρ Πλάτωνος τρεῖς ἀρχαὶ τε πάντες εἶναι λεγόντες, θεὸν καὶ ὕλην καὶ εἶδ' ὅ· θεὸν μὲν, τὸν πάντων ποιητήν· ὕλην δὲ, τὴν ὑποκειμένην τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν γενομένων γενέσει, καὶ τὴν προφασιν αὐτῷ τῆς δημιουργίας παρεχέσσαν· εἶδ' ὅ· δὲ, τὸ ἐκείνῃ τῶν γενομένων παραδείγμα. Ad Græcos, p. 7.

† Ἡ δὲ ἰδέα, εἰσσημα τε θεῷ, ὅπερ οἱ βαρβαροὶ λόγον εἰρηκάσι τε θεῷ. Strom. lib. i. p. 553.

serving that Plato speaks of one lawgiver, and one master of music, he says, that by this he taught that there is but one logos and one God \*. Tertullian says, that “ according to Plato, ideas are invisible substances, incorporeal, supermundane, divine and eternal, the forms, patterns, and causes of visible things, which are subject to the senses †.” Origen, if the *Philosophumena* be his, expresses this sentiment still more plainly; “ The pattern,” says he, “ is the mind of God, which he also calls *idea*, by attending to which in his mind God made all things ‡.” He also says,

\* Ως καὶ Πλάτων, ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ, ἐκ τοῦ νομοθετοῦ φησὶν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς νομοῖς εἶναί τόν συνεσόντα τῶν μυστικῶν· διὰ τούτων διδάσκων τὸν λόγον εἶναι εἶναί, καὶ τὸν θεόν εἶναί. Strom. lib. 1. p. 356.

† Vult enim Plato esse quasdam substantias invisibiles, incorporeales, supermundiales, divinas, et æternas; quas appellat ideas, id est formas, exempla, et causas naturalium istorum manifestorum, et subjacentium corporalibus sensibus: et illas quidem esse veritates, hæc autem imagines earum. De Anima, sect. 18. p. 276.

‡ Το δὲ παρδείγμα τὴν διανοίαν τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι, ὃ καὶ ἰδεάν καλεῖται, οἷον κτισμὰς προσέχων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐδημιουργεῖ. *Philosophumena*, p. 110.

“ Plato’s



“ Plato’s three principles are God, matter,  
“ and the pattern \*.”

These appear to me to have been the genuine principles of Platonism, stripped of all figure ; and thus understood, no harm could have resulted from them. But this plain state of things would not content the christian philosophers ; as nothing could be made of it to favour their great purpose, namely, to make something more of Christ than a mere man, whose existence commenced with his birth. They soon began to dwell more on the personification of the divine *nous* or *logos* (which was originally conceived to be nothing more than a storehouse of ideas) than the Platonists themselves had ever done ; and they took an evident pleasure in giving this turn to the principles of Platonism. Indeed, Plato’s doctrines had always been variously interpreted, as Origen has observed. “ How  
“ can he”, says he, “ pretend to know  
“ every thing of Plato, when his inter-  
“ preters differ so much among them-

\* Πλατων αρχαις ειναι τὸ πᾶντος θεον καὶ υἱον καὶ παραδειγμα. Ibid.  
p. 108.



“ selves \*.” Platonism, therefore, being capable of various constructions, it was natural for the christian Fathers to give it that dress which best suited their purpose.

Justin Martyr, the first of the platonizing christians, did not content himself with that plain and just account of the principles of Platonism, which has been described above, though he does not seem to ascribe so much to Plato as others did. He says, that “ Plato learned from Moses what he “ called a third — principle, viz. the “ spirit (which, Moses said, moved upon “ the face of the waters) for he gives the “ second place to the logos, which was with “ God, and the third to the spirit, which “ is said to have moved upon the waters †.”

There is more of personification in the following account of the principles of Plato by Tertullian: “ We have said that God

\* Η θαρησει, οτι πασις οιδε τα Πλάτωνος τούτων των διαφωνιών  
καὶ παρὰ τοῖς διηγούμενοις αὐτῶν. In Celsus, lib. i. p. 11.

† Καὶ το εἶπεν αὐτὸν τρίτον, ἐπειδὴ, ὡς προεῖπομεν, ἐκ τῶν τῶν  
ὕδατων ἀνεγνώ ὑπὸ Μωσέως εἰρημένον ἐπιφερεσθαι τὸ τε θεὸν πνεῦμα.  
δεύτεραν μὲν γὰρ χώραν τῷ παρὰ θεὸν λόγῳ, οὐ κενήσθαι ἐν τῷ πασί  
εφη, δίδωσι τὴν καὶ τρίτην, τῷ λεχθέντι ἐπιφερεσθαι τῷ ὕδατι πνεύματι,  
εἰπὼν. Apol. i. p. 87.

“ formed

“formed the world by his word, reason,  
 “and power. According to your philo-  
 “sophers, also, the *logos*, that is, the *sermo*,  
 “and *ratio*, was the maker of the universe.  
 “Zeno calls him the person that formed  
 “all things. The same which is called  
 “*fate*, and *God*, and the *mind of Jupiter*,  
 “and the *necessity of all things*\*.” Origen  
 says, the Brachmans acknowledged the *logos*  
 for a God †.

Constantine, commending the doctrine of  
 Plato, says, that “besides the principal  
 “God, he made a *second God*, subservient  
 “to him, being two in number, but both  
 “one in perfection; the substance of the  
 “second god being derived from that of  
 “the principal one, and being the imme-  
 “diate maker and governor of all things,

\* Jam ediximus Deum universitatem hanc mundi verbo  
 et ratione et virtute molitum. Apud vestros quoque sa-  
 pientes, ΛΟΓΟΝ, id est, sermonem atque rationem constat  
 artificem videri universitatis. Hunc enim Zeno determi-  
 nat facitorem, qui cuncta in dispositione formaverit.  
 Eundem et fatum vocari, et deum, et animum Jovis, et  
 necessitatem omnium rerum. Apol. sect. 21. p. 19.

† Αλλ' εστιν αὐτοῖς θεὸς λογος. Philosophumena, p. 159:

Τελον δε τον λογον, ον θεον ονομαζουσιν. Ibid. p. 164.



“ subject to the order of the first, and re-  
 “ ferring the origin of all things to him.  
 “ The logos himself being God, is likewise  
 “ the son of God. For what other appel-  
 “ lation besides that of *son* can be given  
 “ him, without great impiety? For he  
 “ who is the father of all is justly called  
 “ the father of his own logos. So far  
 “ Plato thought justly \*.”

Thus it should seem, that as christians  
 advanced in their doctrine of the personi-  
 fication of the logos, they ascribed it to  
 Plato with more confidence than those who  
 had gone before them. “ You speak,”  
 says Austin, “ of a Father and his Son,  
 “ whom you call the divine intellect, or  
 “ mind, and the middle principle between  
 “ these, by whom we suppose you mean

\* Υπέλαξε δε τῷ καὶ δεύτερον· καὶ δύο νοίας τῷ ἀριθμῷ διείκε, μίας  
 πρὸς τῆς ἀμφοτέρων τελευτήτος, τῆς τε νοίας τε δεύτερε δὲ τὴν ὑπαρξίν  
 ἐχούσης ἐκ τῆς πρώτης· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ διοικήτης τῶν ὅλων,  
 δηλονότι ὑπερανάεσθηνως· ὁ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνων, ταῖς ἐκείνης πρὸς αἵεσιν ὑπερ-  
 γήσας, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν πάντων συστάσεως εἰς ἐκείνον ἀναπεμπει.

Ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτὸς θεὸς ὢν, αὐτὸς τυγχάνει καὶ θεὸς πατρὸς· ποῖον γὰρ αὐ-  
 τὸς ὀνομα αὐτῷ περιλήβεις παρὰ τὴν προσήγοριαν τῆς πατρὸς, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ  
 μέγιστα ἐξαμαρτάνοι· ὁ γὰρ τοι τῶν πάντων πατήρ, καὶ τῆς ἰδίας λογῆς διαικώς  
 αὐτὸς πατήρ νομίζοιτο. Μέχρι μὲν ἐν τῇ Πλάτων σοφῶν ην. Oratio,  
 cap. 9. p. 684.

“ the



“the holy spirit; and, after your manner,  
 “you call them three gods \*.” But it has  
 been seen that what the Platonists generally  
 meant by the *son*, or the *child*, was the vi-  
 sible world.

However, the later christian writers had  
 no more doubt about the principles of Plato  
 than about their own, and it is remarkable,  
 how very nearly they make them approach to  
 each other. Cyril of Alexandria asserts, that  
 “Plato says, it is plain that the first God is  
 “immoveable, but the second, on the con-  
 “trary, is in motion. The first is em-  
 “ployed about intelligible things, the se-  
 “cond about things intelligible and sen-  
 “sible†.” Again he says, “Plato calls  
 “the supreme God *the good*, and says that

\* Prædicas patrem et ejus filium, quem vocas paternum  
 intellectum seu mentem: et horum medium, quem puta-  
 mus te dicere spiritum sanctum, et more vestro appellas  
 tres Deos. De Civitate Dei, lib. 10. cap. 29. Opera,  
 vol. 5. p. 589.

† Εἰσι δὲ οἱ οἱ βιοί, ὁ μὲν πρῶτος, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος θεός. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος  
 μὲν πρῶτος θεός ἐστι ἐγὼς, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἐμπάν ἐστι κινούμενος. ὁ μὲν  
 ἐν πρῶτος, περὶ τὰ νοήσια. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος περὶ τὰ νοήσια καὶ αἰσθητά.  
 Contra Julianum, lib. 3. Juliani Opera, vol. 2. p. 98.

“*nous*, the immediate maker of the world,  
 “sprung from him, the first God being  
 “immoveable. He also introduces a third,  
 “viz. the soul, by which he says every  
 “thing was moved and animated\*.”

Lastly, in his account of the principles  
 of Plato, after speaking of *the good*, he says,  
 “From him is generated *nous* (which is  
 “perfected by the contemplation of him)  
 “whom they call a second God, and the  
 “maker of the world. Him they make  
 “subordinate, and place in the second rank.  
 “The third they make the soul of the  
 “world, which had nothing from itself,  
 “but is made more divine by its relation  
 “to the *nous*, and stronger with respect to  
 “its quickening power.†.” He says that

\* Ο γὰρ Πλάτων θεόν μὲν τὸν ἀνώτατον φησὶ τ' ἀγαθὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ μὴν  
 ἀναλαμψαί μιν, καὶ τέλος εἶναι τὸν προσεχὴ τῷ κόσμῳ δημιουργὸν οὗτος  
 καὶ ἐν ἀκινήτῳ τῇ πρώτῃ. καὶ τρίτην εἰσφέρει ψυχὴν, ὑφ' ἧς τὰ πᾶσι  
 κινεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἐψυχῶσθαι φησὶ. Contra Julianum, lib. 4.  
 Juliani Opera, vol. 2. p. 147.

† Τέλος δὲ εἶναι φασὶ τ' ἀγαθόν. ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ μὴν γενέσθαι μιν, τῇ  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν θεωρίᾳ τελειωμένον, ὃν δὴ καὶ δευτέρον ὀνομαζέσθαι θεόν, καὶ προ-  
 σεχὴ τῷ κόσμῳ δημιουργόν. καὶ τέλος ὑποβιβάζουσι, καὶ ἐν δευτέρῃ τάξει  
 τῇ πρώτῃ καταλογίζονται. καὶ μὴν καὶ τρίτην λογοποιεῖσι τῷ κόσμῳ ψυχὴν,  
 ἥκοθεν μὲν τὸ ἀρίστως εἶναι λαχέσθαι ἑδάμως, σχεσεὶ γὰρ μὴν τῇ πρὸς τὸν  
 κρείττερον



“Prophyry, explaining the doctrine of  
 “Plato, extends the divine essence to three  
 “hypostases; the first being the Supreme  
 “Being, or *the good*; the second the de-  
 “miurgus; and third the soul of the world,  
 “extending the divinity even to this prin-  
 “ciple \*.”

As the christians were admirers of Platonism, so we find that some of the Platonists were admirers of that part of the christian system which was formed after the model of Plato; and that they were particularly struck with the introduction to the gospel of John, as interpreted by the Platonic christians. Basil, speaking of the first verses of John's gospel, says, that he knew many heathen philosophers, who admired them, and copied them into

κρείττονα νυν θεωρεῖσθαι ἀπολεσμένην, καὶ πρὸς γὰρ τὸ δύνασθαι ζωοποιεῖν ἐρωμενεύεσθαι. Ibid. lib. 8. vol. 2. p. 270.

\* Πορφύριος γὰρ φησι, Πλάτων ἐκτεταμένος δοξᾷ, ἀχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων, τὴν τε θεὸν προελθεῖν ἡσίαν· εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀνώτατον θεὸν ταγαδόν· μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ δευτέρον τὸν δημιουργόν· τρίτον δὲ καὶ τὴν τε κόσμῳ ψυχὴν. ἀχρι γὰρ ψυχῆς, τὴν θεοποίησθαι προελθεῖν. Con. Jul. lib. 1. Juliani Opera, vol. 2. p. 34. He repeats the same, p. 271.

their



their own writings\*.” Austin says that a “Platonic philosopher, said that the introduction to John’s gospel ought to be “written in letters of gold, and hung up “in all churches†.” Theodoret says that Plutarch, Numenius, and others, after the appearance of our Saviour, inserted in their own discourses many things from the christian theology‡.

Upon the whole, it must appear that, in representing the principles of Platonism, the christian Fathers leaned too much to the object which they had in view, and

\* Ταῦτα οἶδα πολλὰς καὶ τῶν ἐξω τε λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας μέγα φρονήτων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ κοσμηθῆναι, καὶ θαυμασάσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐαυτῶν συνιστάμασιν ἐγκαταλέξαι τομήσασθαι. Hom. 16. Opera, vol. 1. p. 432.

† Quod initium sancti evangelii, cui nomen est secundum Joannem, quidem Platoniceus.—Aureis literis conscribendum, et per omnes ecclesias in locis eminentissimis proponendum esse dicebat. De Civitate Dei, lib. 10. cap. 29. Opera, vol. 5. p. 592.

‡ Καὶ εἴρα δὲ πλεῖστα εἰρηλατῆσαι καὶ τέλει, καὶ Πλατάρχῳ, καὶ Νεμπίῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς τέλει ξυμμορίας. μέλα γὰρ δὴ τὴν τε Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείαν εἶσι γενομένοι τῆς χριστιανικῆς θεολογίας πολλὰ τοῖς οἰκειοῖς ἀνεμιξάν λόγο. De Græcis Affectibus, Disp. 2. vol. 4. p. 750. Ed. Lipsiæ.

made more of the personification of the divine *nous*, or *logos*, than the Platonists themselves had ever done. The latter probably meant nothing more than a mere figure of speech, when they spake of the *nous*, or *logos*, as a person; but in the hands of the christian Fathers, it became a substantial *second God*, at first derived from the Supreme Being, dependent upon his will, and subject to his orders, but afterwards in all respects equal to himself.

## CHAP.

## CHAPTER II.

*Of the Generation of the Son from the Father.*

## SECTION I.

*The Doctrine of the Platonizing Fathers concerning the Generation of the Son, as the second Person in the Trinity, stated.*

WE have seen what notions the christian Fathers entertained of the *second principle*, in what has been called the *Platonic trinity*, viz. the divine *nous*, or *logos*, which properly signifies the divine *mind*, *reason*, or *wisdom*; that power by means of which God produced the visible world. This they considered as a real person, a *second God*, the son of the first God. There is much indistinctness and confusion in the doctrine of the Platonists themselves on this subject; but all this confusion presently vanished in the eyes of the christian Fathers; who, seeing how excellently that hypothesis was calculated to answer their purpose



purpose of exalting the personal dignity of their master, did not hesitate to maintain that this second principle, the attribute, and the only effective and operative attribute, of the Divine Being, was that which actuated Jesus Christ, and might be said to be Christ.

To complete this scheme, it was necessary that this operative principle in the Deity, should assume proper *substantial personality*, because Jesus Christ always remained a proper *person*, as much as any other intelligent being, and is always to continue so. And they were much assisted in doing this, by the principles of Philo, which have been explained above, viz. that the divine logos could assume *occasional personality*, to answer particular purposes, and then be resorbed into the Divine Being again. For the thing itself being admitted to be *possible for a time*, there was no great difficulty in supposing, farther, that what had been temporary, might be perpetual; and therefore, that the logos, having been occasionally emitted from the divine mind, and having had a proper power, and a proper sphere of action to  
itself,

itself, might for ever remain possessed of them, and be for ever attached to a real man, as it had been supposed to have been attached to what had the appearance of a man, and even to have eaten and drank like a man, in the intercourse with Abraham and the patriarchs.

But the doctrine of the *occasional emission* of this divine principle preceded that of the permanent personality among christians, and continued to be held by many persons after the latter came to be the received opinion. The first mention of this idea occurs in the writings of Justin Martyr, who is likewise the first that can be proved to have adopted the doctrine of the permanent personality of the logos. He mentions it as an opinion which he did not approve; but it is remarkable, that he mentions it without any particular censure, so that it could not have been considered as an heretical doctrine.

The opinion that is described by Justin Martyr, was the same that was held by Marcellus of Ancyra, and other learned christians, who were properly enough  
1 ranked



ranked among unitarians. For, according to them the *logos* was nothing more than a *divine power*, voluntarily emitted by the Supreme Being; and though in some sense detached from himself, was entirely dependent upon him, and taken into himself again at pleasure, when the purpose of its emission had been answered. On this scheme, the *logos*, it might have been said, would have been a person at the creation of the world, and again when it was employed in the divine intercourse with the patriarchs, in the intervals of which it was deprived of its personality, and that it recovered it again at the baptism of Christ; then, after assisting him to perform those things to which human power was unequal, was reformed into the Divine Being again; just as a ray of light was, in those days, supposed to be drawn back into the sun, as the fountain of light, from which it had been emitted. This doctrine, therefore, may be called *Philosophical Unitarianism*, of which a farther account will be given hereafter. At present I only consider it as a step towards the doctrine of *permanent personality*,  
which



which probably commenced with Justin Martyr, and what might contribute to render it more plausible.

This doctrine would certainly appear less alarming to men of plain understanding; for it could not be said that, upon this principle, any *new being*, was introduced. For a mere *power*, occasionally emitted, and then taken back again into its source, could not come under that description. Accordingly, it appears that Marcellus, who held that opinion, was considered as an unitarian, and was popular among the lower people, who continued to be unitarians; whereas they took the greatest alarm at the doctrine of the permanent personality of the *logos*, considering it as the introduction of *another God*, and therefore, as an infringement of the first and greatest commandment.

It was to avoid this great difficulty that the christian Fathers held so obstinately as they did to the doctrine of Christ being nothing more than the *logos*, or the proper *reason, wisdom, or power* of the Father, though it contributed exceedingly to embarrass

barrass their scheme. The Platonists had no difficulty at all on this account, as they had no measures to keep with unitarians, but rather wished to stand well with those who held a multiplicity of gods. They, therefore, never pretended that their *three principles* were *one*, or resolvable into one. This is observed by Austin and others. But the christian Fathers were not so much at liberty. They were under a necessity of maintaining the *unity of God* in some sense or other, at all events, that being the fundamental principle of their religion, and a principle that was most strictly adhered to by the common people.

On this account we find them particularly careful, on all occasions, to assert that, though they considered Christ as God, it was not as *another God*, distinct from the Father, but only the *logos*, or *reason*, of the Father himself; and, therefore, strictly speaking, one with him, as much as the reason of any man was the same thing with the man himself. On this account, also, those who called themselves *orthodox*, were so ready to charge the Arians with holding

the doctrine of *two Gods*; because the *logos* of the Arians was a being created out of nothing, and had a different origin from the God that made him; whereas their *logos* had always existed as *the reason of the eternal Father*, and therefore they thought themselves well secured against any retort of the same accusation from others.

Being thus obliged to keep clear of the doctrine of *two Gods*, they were under a necessity of maintaining that the *logos* was nothing more than the reason, or *operative faculty* of the Father; at the same time that they maintained that it was a distinct person from him, which is a doctrine so manifestly absurd, that at this day it requires the plainest evidence of its having been entertained at all. However, the dread of introducing *two Gods*, and the accusations of their adversaries, especially of the common people, for whom they could not but have great respect, gave them such abundant occasion to explain their real principles, and so much of their writings on this subject are still extant, that we cannot misunderstand their meaning.

It



It is not possible either by the use of plain words, or of figurative language, to express this most absurd notion, viz. that the *logos*, or the *son*, which was afterwards a *real person*, was originally nothing more than a mere *attribute of the father*, more clearly than they do. For, according to the most definite language that men can use, the *logos*, as existing in the Father, and prior to the creation, was in the opinion of those christian Fathers (who, in their own age, and even till long after the council of Nice, were considered as orthodox) the same thing in him as reason is in man, which is certainly no proper *person*, distinguishable from the man himself. Will common sense permit us to say, that the *man* is one person, or thing, and his *reason* another, not comprehended in the *man*? In like manner, it is impossible not to infer from the uniform language of the early christian writers that, according to their ideas, there was originally nothing in, or belonging to the *Son*, but what was necessarily contained in the *Father*.

Passages without end may also be selected from the most approved of the Fathers to

shew, in the clearest manner, that as the divinity which they then ascribed to Christ was the very same principle which had constituted the *wisdom*, and other *operative powers*, of God the Father, so what they called the *generation of the Son*, was the commencement of a state of actual personality in the logos; whether in time, as was thought by some, or from all eternity, as was held by others; an opinion which was afterwards received as the established doctrine on the subject.

I shall not produce a tenth part of the authorities that might easily have been selected to prove these propositions; nor one half of those which I have actually collected for the purpose; but they will be abundantly sufficient to put an end to all the doubts that can have been entertained on the subject, especially as they will be extracted from writers of the most unquestioned orthodoxy, from Justin Martyr, to those of a very late period in the christian history.

## SECTION II.

*Authorities for this Opinion from Justin.  
Martyr to Origen.*

FROM a careful perusal of the writings of Justin, I cannot help thinking that he was the first, or one of the first, who advanced the doctrine of the permanent personality of the logos. He seems to write as if this was the case; and it is also certain, that he was the oldest of the authorities for the pre-existence of Christ quoted by the anonymous author in Eusebius, as will be shewn hereafter. Justin says, "Jesus Christ "is the only proper son of God, being his "logos, first born, and powerful \*." Had he meant any other principle than the very logos which was an attribute of the Father, he would have said *a logos*, or *the logos*, and not *his logos*. But I quote this passage not as the most explicit, but as the first in the

\* Καὶ Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς μόνος ἰδιως υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γεγεννηται λογὸς αὐτοῦ  
υπαρχων, καὶ πρωτότοκος, καὶ δυναμὶς. Apol. I. p. 35.



writings of Justin in which this sentiment appears. He likewise says, "Moses informs us that the spirit, and a power which was from God, is no other than the logos who was the first begotten of God\*." Some other characters which Justin imagined the logos to assume are mentioned in the following passage. "The logos of God is also called his Son. He is likewise called an angel, and an apostle, or one sent by another," quoting the words of our Saviour, "He that heareth me heareth him that sent me†." *Ibid.*

But the following larger extract from Justin shews most distinctly that, in his idea, the logos of God bore the same relation to God, that the logos, or reason, of man bears to man, and that this principle was, in his opinion, the medium of all the divine communications from God to man.

\* Το πνευμα εν χ' την δυναμιν την παρα τε θεω υδεν αλλο νοησαι θεμις, η τον λογον, ος κ' πρωτοτοκος τω θεω εστι, Μωυσης ο παραδεδηλωμενος προφητης εμνηνσε. *Apol. i. p. 54.*

† Ο λογος δε τε θεω εστιν ο υιος αυτου, ως προεφημεν. κ' αγγελος δε καλεϊται, κ' αποστολος. αυτος γαρ απαγγελλει οσα δει γνωσθηναι, κ' αποφελλει μηνυων οσα αγγελλειται, ως κ' αυτος ο κυριος ημων ειπεν, ο εμμε ακουων ακουει τε αποτειλαντος με. *Ibid. p. 93.*

from

from the beginning of the world. "I will  
" shew you from the scriptures, that in the  
" beginning, before all creatures, God pro-  
" duced from himself a rational power,  
" which is called by the holy spirit, the  
" glory of God, sometimes the Son, some-  
" times wisdom, sometimes an angel, some-  
" times God, sometimes Lord, and logos.  
" Sometimes he calls himself *commander in*  
" *chief*, having appeared in the form of a  
" man to Joshua. He has these names  
" from his being subservient to his Father's  
" will, and from being produced at his Fa-  
" ther's pleasure, such as we experience  
" in ourselves. For, on our uttering any  
" word (i. e. logos) we generate a logos,  
" not that any thing is cut off from us so  
" that we are diminished by that means,  
" but as we see one fire lighted by another,  
" that not being diminished from which  
" it was lighted, but continuing the same.  
" In proof of this, I can produce the word  
" of wisdom, shewing that he is a God pro-  
" duced from the Father of all, being the  
" logos, the wisdom, the power, and the  
" glory of him that generated him; and



“ Solomon says, if I tell you what happens  
 “ to day, I will recount things from the  
 “ beginning. The Lord created me the  
 “ αρχη,” the beginning, “ the way to his  
 “ works. Before the angels he established  
 “ me, in the beginning, before he made the  
 “ earth\*.”

Here is the whole system of Justin, and  
 of the Fathers before the council of Nice;  
 and also the chief foundation on which it

\* Μαριτυριον δε η̅ αλλα υ̅μιν, ω̅ φιλοι, ε̅φη, απο των γραφων δ̅ωσω, ο̅ι αρχην προ̅ πα̅σαι̅ των κ̅τισ̅μα̅των ο̅ θε̅ος γε̅γεν̅ηκε̅ δυναμιν̅ τινα̅ εξ̅ ε̅αυ̅του̅ λογικην̅, η̅ς̅ η̅ δο̅ξα̅ κυ̅ρι̅ς̅ υπο̅ τ̅ς̅ π̅νευ̅μα̅τι̅ς̅ τ̅ς̅ αγ̅ι̅ς̅ κα̅λει̅ται̅, πο̅τε̅ δε̅ υ̅ιος̅, πο̅τε̅ δε̅ σο̅φ̅ια̅, πο̅τε̅ δε̅ α̅γγ̅ελ̅ς̅, πο̅τε̅ δε̅ θε̅ος̅. πο̅τε̅ δε̅ κυ̅ρι̅ς̅, η̅ λογ̅ς̅. Πο̅τε̅ δε̅ αρχ̅ι̅ς̅ ρα̅η̅γον̅ ε̅αυ̅τον̅ λε̅γει̅, εν̅ αν̅θρω̅π̅ω̅ μο̅ρ̅φ̅η̅ φ̅αν̅ει̅ν̅αι̅ τ̅ω̅ τ̅ς̅ Να̅υ̅η̅ Ι̅η̅σ̅υ̅. ε̅χει̅ν̅ γ̅αρ̅ πα̅ν̅τα̅ προ̅σ̅ο̅νο̅μα̅ζε̅σθ̅αι̅ εν̅ τ̅ς̅ υ̅π̅η̅ρ̅ει̅ν̅αι̅ τ̅ω̅ πα̅τρι̅ω̅ β̅ε̅δ̅η̅μα̅τι̅, η̅ εν̅ τ̅ς̅ απο̅ τ̅ς̅ πα̅τρ̅ος̅ β̅ε̅λ̅η̅σει̅ γε̅γεν̅η̅σθ̅αι̅, [α̅λλ̅ η̅] το̅ι̅ω̅τον̅ ο̅πο̅ιον̅ η̅ ε̅φ̅ η̅μ̅ων̅ γε̅νο̅με̅νον̅ ο̅ρω̅με̅ν̅. Λο̅γον̅ γ̅αρ̅ τινα̅ προ̅β̅α̅λλ̅ον̅τες̅, λο̅γον̅ γε̅νο̅με̅ν̅, η̅ κα̅τα̅ απο̅δο̅με̅ν̅ ως̅ ε̅λα̅τ̅ι̅ω̅θη̅ν̅αι̅ τον̅ εν̅ η̅μ̅ιν̅ λο̅γον̅ προ̅β̅α̅λλ̅ο̅με̅νοι̅. Κα̅ι̅ ο̅πο̅ιον̅ ε̅πι̅ πυ̅ρος̅ ο̅ρω̅με̅ν̅ α̅λλ̅ο̅, γ̅ι̅νο̅με̅νον̅, εκ̅ ε̅λα̅τ̅ι̅σ̅με̅ν̅ς̅ ε̅κει̅ν̅ς̅ ε̅ξ̅ η̅ ανα̅ψ̅ι̅ς̅ γε̅γον̅εν̅, α̅λλ̅α̅ τ̅ς̅ α̅υ̅τ̅ς̅ με̅νο̅ν̅τι̅ς̅. Κα̅ι̅ το̅ ε̅ξ̅ α̅υ̅τ̅ς̅ ανα̅ψ̅η̅ται̅ η̅ α̅υ̅τ̅ς̅ ο̅ν̅ φ̅αν̅ει̅ται̅, εκ̅ ε̅λα̅τ̅ι̅ω̅σθ̅αι̅ ε̅κει̅νο̅ ε̅ξ̅ η̅ αν̅η̅ρ̅θ̅η̅. μα̅ρ̅τυ̅ρ̅η̅ται̅ δε̅ μ̅οι̅ ο̅ λογ̅ς̅ τ̅ης̅ σο̅φ̅ια̅ς̅, α̅υ̅τος̅ ω̅ν̅ ου̅λος̅ ο̅ θε̅ος̅ απο̅ τ̅ς̅ πα̅τρ̅ος̅ των̅ ο̅λων̅ γε̅νη̅θ̅εις̅, η̅ λο̅γος̅, η̅ σο̅φ̅ια̅, η̅ δυναμ̅ις̅, η̅ δο̅ξα̅ τ̅ς̅ γε̅νη̅σ̅α̅ι̅ς̅ υ̅πα̅ρχ̅ων̅, η̅ δια̅ Σο̅λο̅μο̅νος̅ φ̅η̅σ̅α̅ν̅τι̅ς̅ τα̅υ̅τα̅, ε̅αν̅ ανα̅γ̅ει̅λω̅ υ̅μ̅ιν̅ τα̅ κα̅θ̅ η̅με̅ραν̅ γ̅ι̅νο̅με̅να̅, μ̅νη̅μο̅νε̅υσ̅τω̅ τα̅ ε̅ξ̅ αι̅ων̅ς̅ α̅ρι̅θ̅η̅σ̅α̅ι̅. Κυ̅ρι̅ εκ̅λ̅ι̅σε̅ με̅ αρχ̅ην̅, ο̅δ̅ον̅ α̅υ̅τ̅ς̅ ει̅ς̅ τα̅ ε̅ργ̅α̅ α̅υ̅τ̅ς̅. Προ̅ τ̅ς̅ αι̅ων̅ς̅ ε̅θε̅με̅λω̅σε̅ με̅. Εν̅ αρχ̅η̅ προ̅ τ̅ς̅ τ̅ην̅ γ̅η̅ν̅ πο̅ι̅η̅σ̅α̅ι̅. Dial. p. 266.

N. B. Αλλ̅ η̅, line 7. as Thirlby observes, must be a corruption, or interpolation.

was



was built. This, however, I shall not stop to examine, but proceed to state the opinions of other christian writers who followed Justin. Irenæus expresses the same thought more concisely, when he says, “ God is wholly mind, and existing logos, “ what he thinks, that he speaks. His “ thought is the logos, and logos is *mind*; “ and the mind comprehending every thing “ is the Father himself\*.”

In the following passage of Theophilus we see more clearly than in the preceding of Irenæus, that the logos was considered as being the same thing with the proper wisdom of the Father. “ When he said, *let us* “ *make man*, he spake to nothing but his “ own logos, and his own wisdom†.” If the opinion of Theophilus had not been certainly known, it might even have been questioned whether, in writing the above passage, he really considered the logos as a

\* Deus autem totus existens mens, et totus existens logos, quod cogitat, hoc et loquitur; et quod loquitur, hoc et cogitat. Cogitatio enim ejus logos, et logos mens, et omnia concludens mens, ipse est pater. Lib. 2. cap. 48. p. 176.

† Ουκ αλλω δε τι νειρηκε, ποιησωμεν, αλλ' η τω εαυτου λογω, κ' τη εαυτου σοφια. Lib. 2. p. 114.

*person;*

person; and indeed it is very possible that, without attending to it, he might revert to the original meaning of the word *logos*, expressing himself as an unitarian would have done. But the following passage puts it out of all doubt that this writer considered the *logos* as a real person, but originally nothing more than an attribute of the Father. Speaking of the voice which Adam heard in Paradise, he says, “What is it but  
 “ the *logos* of God, which is also his Son,  
 “ but not as the poets and mythologists  
 “ think of sons of God produced by copu-  
 “ lation, but really considering the *logos* as  
 “ being at all times in the heart of God;  
 “ for before any thing was made he had  
 “ him for his counsellor, being his own  
 “ mind and understanding. Wherefore  
 “ when God chose to make what he had  
 “ devised, he generated his *logos*, then put  
 “ forth the first begotten of all creation,  
 “ not depriving himself of *logos*, but gene-  
 “ rating *logos*, and always conversing with  
 “ his own *logos* \*.”

\* Φωνὴ δὲ τι ἄλλο ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ λόγος ὁ τὸ θεὸν, ὅς ἐστι καὶ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.  
 ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ μυθολογοὶ λέγουσι υἱὸς θεοῦ ἐκ συνουσίας γενησάμενος  
 ἀλλὰ

Athenagoras is not less explicit than Theophilus. He says, "If I were asked what the Son of God is, I should say that he is the first production of the Father, not as *made*, for God being an eternal mind, has *logos* always in himself, being from eternity a rational being, but as going forth, to be the *idea*, and *energy*, to material things of all kinds, which are naturally subject to controul; the heavy and the light being mixed together," i. e. being in a state of chaos. Here is the precise language of Platonism, in which *idea* was synonymous to *nous*, which the christians called *logos*. He adds, that "the prophetic spirit confirms this, when he said, The Lord created me the *αρχη* [the principle] with respect to his works \*;" meaning,

αλλα ως αληθεια δηγειται τον λογον, τον οηα διαπαντος ενδιαδελον εν καρδια δευ. προ γαρ τι γινεσθαι τειον ειχε συμβελον αυτου νεν, η φρονησιν οηα. οποιε δε ηδελησεν ο θεος ποιησαι οσα εβλευσαι, τειον τον λογον εγεννησε προφορικον, πρωτοτον πασης κτισεως, η κενωδεις αυτος τε λογε, αλλα λογον γεννησας, η τω λογω αυτε διαπαντος ομιλων. Lib. 2. p. 129.

\* Ο πας τι βελειται. ερω δια βραχεων. πρωτον γεννημα ειναι τω πατρι, ηχ ως γενομενον (εξ αρχης γαρ ο θεος, νης αιδιος ων, ειχεν αυτος εν αυτω τον λογον, αιδιως λογικος ων) αλλ ως των υλικων εμπααντων οποιε φυσας

η γης,



that the Son, when produced, was the source from which other things were made.

In this passage, as the writer explains what he meant by *God having always had the logos in himself*, by saying, that he was always λογικῶς, that is, a *rational intelligent being*, he certainly meant to intimate, that before the generation of the logos, it was the very same principle in God, that *reason* is in man, being his proper *wisdom, or intelligence*, one of his attributes; and it was never imagined, that there were proper distinct persons in the mind of man, merely because man is λογικῶς, *rational*. The very expression excludes the idea, and must have been intended to exclude it.

Clemens Alexandrinus has been thought by some to favour the Arian principle, of the *logos* being a *creature, made out of nothing*; but it will appear by the following passages, that nothing could be farther from

καὶ γὰρ οὐχίας ὑπὸνείμενων δικην, μεμυγμένων τῶν παχυμερετέρων πρὸς  
τα κρυφώτερα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἰδέα καὶ ἐνεργεία εἶναι προελθόν. συναδελφεὶ δὲ τῷ  
λόγῳ καὶ τῷ προφητικῷ πνεύματι, Κυρίῳ γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐκτίσθε με, ἀρχὴν  
οὐδὼν αὐτῷ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Apol. p. 82.

his real ideas than that opinion, though the language in which he sometimes expresses the generation of the Son from the Father may be capable of that construction. Speaking of the logos, he says, “He is the wisdom in which the Almighty delighted : “for the Son is the power of God, as he is “the most ancient logos of the Father, before all things that were made, and his “wisdom, and especially the chosen teacher “of those who were made by him \*.”— “God cannot be shewn, nor can he teach ; “but the Son is wisdom, and knowledge, “and truth, and every thing of this kind†.”

Of all the christian writers of antiquity, none exceeded Tertullian in the confidence which he had in his own principles. He seems to have imagined that there was no

\* Αγνοια γαρ εχ απλειται τε θεα, τε προ καταβολης νοσμε συμβεβηκε γινόμενε τε παίρος . αυτη γαρ ην σοφια η προσεχαιρει ο πατριουκρατωρ θεος . δυναμις γαρ τε θεα ο υιος, ατε προ παλιν των γενομενων αρχικω-τατος λογος τε παίρος . κη σοφια αυτη κυριως αν κη διδασκαλος δεχθεη των δι αυτη πλασθεντων . Strom. lib. 7. p. 703.

† Ο μεν εν θεος, αναποδεικτος αν, εκ ειν επιτημόνιος, ο δε δε υιος, σοφια τε ετι κη επιτημη, αληθεια, κη οσα αλλα τελω συγση. Ibid. lib. 4. p. 537.

difficulty whatever in comprehending them; and therefore he did not fear to enter into all the minutiae of them, in order to answer every possible objection, or cavil. By this means we are in full possession of his thoughts, as much as if we could now interrogate him on the subject; and as his orthodoxy with respect to the doctrine of the trinity was never questioned in his own age, we see very clearly what that orthodoxy was. Among a number of passages that I might have selected from him for my present purpose, the following, I imagine, will be quite sufficient.

“ Before all things, God was alone. He  
“ was a world and place, and all things to  
“ himself. He was alone, because there  
“ was nothing foreign to himself. But  
“ then he was not absolutely alone, for he  
“ had with him, and in him, his own *rea-*  
“ *son*; for God is a rational being. This  
“ the Greeks called *logos*, which word we  
“ translate *sermo* [speech] and therefore, we,  
“ through simplicity, are accustomed to  
“ say that *sermo* was from the beginning  
“ with



“ with God, when we ought to have pre-  
“ ferred the word *ratio* [reason] because  
“ God was from the beginning *rationalis*  
“ [a being endued with reason] not *ser-*  
“ *monalis* [endued with speech] and because  
“ speech, consisting with reason, has it as  
“ its substance. This, however, makes no  
“ difference. For though God had not  
“ yet emitted his word, he had it with-  
“ in himself, together with his reason,  
“ and in his reason, silently thinking and  
“ contriving within himself what he was  
“ about to pronounce by his speech. For  
“ thinking, and disposing with his reason,  
“ he made that *speech*, which he treated with  
“ speech. That you may the more easily  
“ understand this from yourself, consider,  
“ as you are made in the image and after  
“ the likeness of God, the reason which  
“ you have in yourself, who are a rational  
“ creature, not only made by a rational ar-  
“ tificer, but animated by his substance.  
“ Consider that when you silently muse  
“ with yourself, reason is acting within  
“ you, that principle concurring with  
“ speech

“ speech to every thought and sensation.  
 “ Whatever you think is *sermo* [speech]  
 “ and whatever you perceive is *ratio* [reason]  
 “ —. How much more doth this take  
 “ place in the mind of God, of whom you  
 “ are the image and likeness, that he has  
 “ in himself when he is silent, *reason*, and  
 “ in reason *speech*. I may, therefore, ven-  
 “ ture to assert, that God, before the con-  
 “ stitution of the universe, was not alone ;  
 “ as he had then reason within himself,  
 “ and in reason speech, which he could  
 “ make a second principle from himself,  
 “ by acting within himself\*.”

\* Ante omnia enim Deus erat solus, ipse sibi et mun-  
 dus, et locus, et omnia. Solus autem, quia nihil aliud ex-  
 trinsecus præter illum. Ceterum, ne tunc quidem solus ;  
 habebat enim secum, quam habebat in semetipso ; ra-  
 tionem suam scilicet. Rationalis etiam Deus, et ratio in  
 ipso prius ; et ita ab ipso omnia. Quæ ratio, sensus ipsius  
 est. Hanc Græci λόγος dicunt, quo vocabulo etiam ser-  
 monem appellamus. Ideoque jam in usu est nostrorum,  
 per simplicitatem interpretationis, sermonem dicere in pri-  
 mordio, apud Deum fuisse ; cum magis rationem com-  
 petat antiquiorem haberi ; quia non sermonalis a principio,  
 sed rationalis Deus etiam ante principium ; et quia ipse  
 quoque sermo ratione consistens, priorem eam, ut substan-  
 tiam

This passage needs no comment. At least what I have observed with respect to the quotation from Athenagoras will be quite sufficient for it, the *λογικόν* of the Greek writer being the same thing with the *rationalis* of the Latin author. I shall only

tiam suam ostendat. Tamen et sic nihil interest. Nam etsi Deus nondum sermonem suum miserat, proinde eum cum ipsa et in ipsa ratione intra semetipsum habebat, tacite cogitando et disponendo secum, quæ per sermonem mox erat dicturus. Cum ratione enim sua cogitans atque disponens, sermonem eam efficiebat, quam sermone tractabat. Idque quo facilius intelligas ex te ipso, ante recognosce ut ex imagine et similitudine Dei, quam habeas et tu in temet ipso rationem, qui es animal rationale, a rationali scilicet artifice non tantum factus, sed etiam ex substantia ipsius animatus. Vide quum tacitus tecum ipse congredieris, ratione hoc ipsum agi intra te, occurrente ea tibi cum sermone ad omnem cogitatus tui motum, et ad omnem sensus tui pulsum. Quodcumque cogitaveris, sermo est; quodcumque senseris, ratio est.—Quanto ergo plenius hoc agitur in Deo, cujus tu quoque imago et similitudo censeris, quod habeat in se etiam tacendo rationem, et in ratione sermonem? Possum itaque non temere præstruxisse, et tunc Deum ante universitatis constitutionem solum non fuisse, habentem in semetipso proinde rationem, et in ratione sermonem, quem secundum a se faceret, agitando intra se. Ad Praxeam, sect. 5. Opera, p. 503.



give two other extracts from this writer, which clearly shew what, in his idea, was the true origin of what is called the *second principle* in the trinity. “Christ,” he says, “is the power of God, and the spirit of God, the speech, the wisdom, the reason, and the Son of God\*.”

That, in the opinion of Tertullian, it was Christ who was the immediate maker of the world, cannot be questioned, and yet in the following passage the power by which it was made, is described as the proper inherent power of God the Father. “You see how by the operation of God all things consist, in the power of making the earth, the wisdom of preparing the world, and the understanding of extending the heavens; not appearing only, nor approaching, but exerting such force of his mind, wisdom, power, understanding, word, spirit, power†.”

\* Ut Dei virtus, et Dei spiritus, et sermo, et sapientia, et ratio, et Dei filius. Apol. sect. 23. Opera, p. 23.

† Vides ergo quemadmodum operatione Dei universa consistunt, valentia facientis terram, intelligentia parantis orbem,

Cyprian, who usually called Tertullian his master, follows him in expressing exactly the same ideas. "Christ," he says, "is the power of God, his reason, his wisdom, and glory. He, descending into the virgin's womb, put on flesh by the aid of the Holy Spirit. He is God mixed with man. He is our God, and Christ, who being the mediator of the two, put on man to bring him to the Father\*."

orbem, et sensu extendentis cœlum: non adparentis solummodo, nec adpropinquantis, sed adhibentis tantos animi sui nisus, sapiam, valentiam, sensum, sermonem, spiritum, virtutem. Ad Hermogenem, sect. 45. Opera, p. 249.

\* Hujus igitur indulgentiæ, gratiæ disciplinæque arbiter et magister, sermo et filius Dei mittitur, qui per prophetas omnes retro, illuminator et doctor humani generis prædicabatur. Hic est virtus Dei, hic ratio, hic sapientia ejus, et gloria. Hic in virginem illabatur; carnem, spiritu sancto co-operante, induitur. Deus cum homine miscetur. Hic Deus noster, hic Christus est, qui mediator duorum, hominem induit, quem perducatur ad patrem. De Idolorum Vanitate, Opera, p. 15:

## SECTION III.

*Authorities from Origen, and other Writers subsequent to him; with an Account of other Attributes of the Father, besides that of Wisdom, which Christ is said to have been.*

**O**RIGEN, as well as Clemens Alexandrinus, has been thought to favour the Arian principle; but he did it only in words, and not in ideas, as will be evident from the following passages; and many more to the same purpose might have been extracted from his writings. “Though we speak,” he says, “of a *second God*, we mean nothing more than a virtue comprehending all virtues, and a reason comprehending all reason, for the good of the whole, which we say is united to the soul of Jesus; which we say was alone capable of partaking of this perfect reason, perfect wisdom, and perfect virtue\*.” “God, according to

\* Καὶ δευτερον εἰς λεγωμεν θεον \* ἵνα ἴδωσιν οἱ τοῦ δευτερου θεου οὐκ ἂν οὐ τι λεγωμεν, ἢ τὴν περιεκλινῶν πᾶσι ἀρεταῖς ἀρετὴν, καὶ τὸν περι-  
εχόναν.



“us, can do nothing without his logos,  
 “or without himself\*.” “All that are  
 “God’s are in Christ. He is the power of  
 “God, he is the righteousness of God, he  
 “is sanctification, he is redemption, he is  
 “the mind of God†.” “He is *ἐμφυτος*  
 “σοφία‡.” [*living wisdom*] An expression  
 similar to this is used in the creed ascribed  
 to Gregory Thaumaturgus, who was a dis-  
 ciple of Origen. The creed, however, by  
 the credulous superstition of the age, was  
 said to come from the apostle John. There  
 the Son of God is called *σοφία υφιστάου*, sub-  
 stantial wisdom||.

ἐκίμων παῖλος ἐβίωσεν λόγῳ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν καὶ προηγμένων γεγεννημένων  
 καὶ εἰς χρησίμῳ τῷ παλῷ, λόγον. ἀντὶ τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ παρὰ πα-  
 σαν ψυχὴν ψυχὴ ἀκείωσθαι καὶ πῶσθαι φάμεν, μόνῃ τελείῳ χρησά-  
 μενοι δὲ τὴν αἰσθάνειαν μέλλομεν τῷ αἰσθάνει, καὶ τῆς αἰσθητικῆς, καὶ τῆς  
 αἰσθητικῆς. Ad Celsum, lib. 5. p. 258.

\* Ἀλλὰ, καὶ κατὰ ἡμᾶς, ὅθεν οἱ ἰσχυροὶ παραλογον, εἰς παρὰ αὐτὸν,  
 ἐργασασθαι εἶναι οὗ θεοῦ. Ibid. p. 247.

† Πάντα γὰρ οὗσα τῷ θεῷ τοιαῦτα, ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι· χριστὸς ἐστὶ σοφία  
 τῷ θεῷ, αὐτὸς δυνάμις θεῷ, αὐτὸς δικαιοσύνη θεῷ, αὐτὸς ἀγίασμος, αὐτὸς  
 ἀπολύτρωσις, αὐτὸς φρονήσις ἐν θεῷ. In Jer. Hom. 8. Com-  
 ment. vol. 1. p. 96.

‡ In Johan. Comment. vol. 2. p. 19.

|| Gr. Thaum. Opera. p. 11.



“ actually generated he was virtually in the  
 “ Father ungenerated\*.”

Athanasius, whose orthodoxy will hardly be called in question, held exactly the same language with Athenagoras and Tertullian; and yet he does not express the opinion of the logos having been the proper reason of the Father more definitely than Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, or Eusebius.

“ The Father of Christ,” he says, “ as  
 “ the best governor, by his own wisdom,  
 “ and his own logos, our Lord Jesus Christ,  
 “ governs every where happily, and orders  
 “ as he thinks proper†.” He says of  
 Christ, that “ he is the proper wisdom, the  
 “ proper logos, and the proper power of the  
 “ Father‡.”

Again, speaking of the logos of God, he  
 says, “ it is not like the logos of a rational  
 “ creature, composed of syllables, and ut-

\* Επει κ' ἡ πρὶν ἐνεργεῖα γεννηθῆναι, δυναμὶς ἦν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἀγεννη-  
 τως. Theodoriti Hist. lib. 1. cap 12. p. 40.

† Ο τὸ χρίστος πατήρ, οὗτις καθάπερ ἄριστος κυβερνήτης τῇ ἰδίᾳ σοφίᾳ,  
 κ' τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ, τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστῷ, τὰ πάντα καὶ κυβερνᾷ σωτηρίᾳ  
 κ' διακοσμοῦ, κ' ποιεῖ ὡς αὐτῷ καλῶς εἶναι δοκεῖ. Contra Gentes,  
 Opera, vol. 1. p. 44.

‡ Ἀλλ' αὐτοσοφία, αὐτολογος, αὐτοδυναμὶς ἰδίᾳ τῷ πατρὶ ἐστίν. Ibid.  
 p. 51.



“tered in air, but the living and efficacious  
 “God, of the good God of all, I mean rea-  
 “son itself, which is different from all  
 “things which are made (*γεννητων*) and from  
 “the whole creation. It is the peculiar  
 “and only logos of the good Father, which  
 “arranged the whole system, and illumi-  
 “nates it by his providence\*.”

The same language continued to be held by the most distinguished champions of orthodoxy after the time of Athanasius. Gregory Nyssen says, “The Father does nothing without the Son, nor the Son without the Father, of which we have an example in ourselves, for the soul does nothing without reason, nor reason without the soul †.”

\* ΟΥΔΕ ΟΙΟΝ ΕΧΕΙ ΤΟ ΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΝ, ΤΟΝ ΕΚ ΣΥΛΛΑΒΩΝ ΣΥΓΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ, ἢ ΕΝ ΑΕΡΙ ΣΗΜΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ἢ ΘΕΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΟΛΩΝ ΖΩΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΕΡΓΗ ΘΕΟΝ, ΑΝΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΟΝ ΛΕΓΩ, ΟΣ ΑΛΛΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΩΝ ΓΕΝΗΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΗΣΕΩΣ. ΙΔΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΣ ΤΕ ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΟΥΤΑΡΧΕΙ ΛΟΓΟΣ, ΟΣ ΤΟΔΕ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΔΙΕΚΟΣΜΗΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΦΩΤΙΖΕΙ ΤΕ ΤΗ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ. *Contra Gentes*, Opera, vol. i. p. 44.

† ΟΥΔΕ ΓΑΡ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΔΙΧΑ ΠΑΤΗΡΟΣ, ΑΦ' ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΘ' ΕΑΥΤΟΝ, ΠΟΙΕΙ ΤΙ, ΟΥΔΕ Ο ΠΑΤΗΡ ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΤΕ ΥΙΟΥ ἢ ΤΩ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ—ΚΑΙ ΟΦΕΙ ΜΙΑΝ ἢ ΟΜΟΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑΝ ΕΝ ΗΜΙΝ. ΟΥΔΕ ΓΑΡ Η ΨΥΧΗ ΔΙΧΑ ΛΟΓΩ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΙ, ΕΙΣΕ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΙΧΑ ΨΥΧΗΣ, ΕΙΣΕ ΜΗΝ Ο ΝΗΣ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΚΑΘ' ΕΑΥΤΟΝ, ΧΩΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ ἢ ΤΩ ΛΟΓΩ ΚΑΙΤΕΡΓΑΖΕΤΑΙ ΤΙ. *In Gen. i. 26.* Opera, vol. i. p. 865.

“ If the Son, as the scripture says, be  
 “ the power of God, wisdom, and truth,  
 “ and light, and sanctification, and peace,  
 “ and life, and the like, according to the  
 “ doctrine of the heretics” (meaning the  
 Arians) “ these things were not before the  
 “ Son; and these having no existence, the  
 “ Father himself must have been divested  
 “ of all these advantages \*.” With the  
 same idea, Ambrose says, “ Could the Fa-  
 “ ther ever be without life, without wis-  
 “ dom, without power, without reason,  
 “ which Christ is †.” “ He is, therefore,”  
 he says, “ called the wisdom of God, as the  
 “ Father can never be thought to be with-  
 “ out wisdom, that is, without his Son.  
 “ This is that ineffable wisdom, which is  
 “ described by Solomon as the *beginning of*  
 “ *the ways of God*, whether it be founded,

\* Εἰ γὰρ ὁ υἱός, καθὼς ἡ γὰρ φη λέγει, δυνάμις ἐστὶ θεὸς, καὶ σοφία, καὶ ἀληθεία, καὶ φῶς, καὶ ἁγιασμός, καὶ εἰρήνη, καὶ ζωὴ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. πρὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ εἶναι, καθὼς τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς δοκεῖ, εἶδε ταῦτα ἢ πάντως. ταῦτα δὲ μὴ οὐκ εἶναι, κενὸν πάντως τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν τὸν πατέρα εὐνοήσας κολῶν. Contra Eunomium, Opera, vol. 2. p. 4.

† Num quidnam potuit esse tempus quando pater sine vita, sine sapientia, sine virtute, sine verbo, quod Christus est, fuerit? In Symbol. Opera, vol. 4. p. 88.

“or generated, or created; which, how-  
 “ever, is so founded, as that it is always  
 “with God \*.”

This continued to be the language of the orthodox divines till a very late period. Damascenus says, “God has no other lo-  
 “gos, wisdom, power, or will, but the  
 “Son †.” Theophylact also says, “God  
 “could not be without reason, wisdom, or  
 “power; wherefore we believe, that since  
 “the Son is the reason, the wisdom, and  
 “the power of the Father, he is always  
 “(προς) with God, instead of σου, or μετὰ ‡.”

If these passages do not give my readers perfect satisfaction with respect to the real

\* Et ideo sapientia Dei appellatur, ut nunquam pater sine sapientia, hoc est sine filio suo fuisse credatur. Hæc est illa sapientia ineffabilis, quæ initium viarum Dei apud Salomonem, vel condita, vel genita, vel creata describitur, quam tamen sic conditam dicit, ut semper eam cum Deo fuisse constet. De Filii Divinitate, Opera, vol. 4. p. 278.

† Καὶ γὰρ φησὶν ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τοῖς θεολογικοῖς αὐτοῦ κεφαλαίοις. Ἰτα μὴ πολλὰ λεγῶ, καὶ ἐστὶ τῷ πατρὶ λόγος, σοφία, δύναμις, θελήσις, καὶ ὁ υἱός. Manuel Caleca, in Combefis, vol. 2. p. 222.

‡ Οὐκ ἐνδεχέσθαι γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀδογὰν ἢ ἀσοφον εἶναι ποτε, ἢ ἀδυνατεῖν· διὰ τὰ αὐτῶν πιστευόμενα, ὅτι ἐπεὶ λόγος, καὶ σοφία, καὶ οὐκ ἀδυναμία τῷ πατρὶ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός, αὐτὸν ἢ πρὸς Θεόν, αὐτὸν τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ μετὰ τῷ πατρὶ. In John, Opera, vol. 1. p. 556.

origin



origin of the *logos* of the orthodox Fathers, and convince them, that by the *logos* they understood a proper *attribute of the Father*, and that this attribute became the person of the Son, and was afterwards united to Jesus Christ, most absurd as the notion certainly is, I shall despair of being able to prove any thing.

Origen was so fully persuaded of the *logos* that was in Christ being the true *logos*, or power of the Father, that he represents it as omnipotent, and not confined to the person of Christ. “The Evangelists,” says he, “do not represent the *logos* as circumscribed within the body and soul of Jesus, as is evident from many considerations. Thus, John the Baptist, prophesying that the Son of God would soon make his appearance, says, not that he would be in that body, and in that soul, but every where; for, he says, he standeth in the midst of you, whom you know not\*.”

\* Ουδε τα ευαγγελια ουδε περιγεγραμμενον τινα γεγονεναι, ως εδωκεν εξω της ψυχης κ' τε σωματος τε Ιησους τυχευοντα. Δηλον μεν κ' απο πολλων, κ' εξ ολιγων δε, ων παρατησομεθα, εως εχοντων. ο βαπτιστης  
Ιωαννης

He even considers this *logos* as imparted to other men in certain degrees, as if all *reason* was a portion of the same eternal *logos*. Descanting on John, chap. i. 9. *he enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world*, he says, “Whoever is endued with  
 “reason (λογικῶς) partakes of the true light,  
 “But every man is endued with reason;  
 “all men, therefore, have the *logos*. In  
 “some the power of the *logos* is great, but  
 “in some it is little. If you see a soul  
 “given to passion, and sinful, you see the  
 “power of the *logos* failing; but if you  
 “see a soul holy and righteous, you see the  
 “power of the *logos* bringing forth fruit  
 “daily\*.” This very much resembles the language of the Quakers, who speak of

Ἰωαννῆς προφητεύων ὅσον ἔδεπται ἐντήσεσθαι τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆ θεᾶς, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
 τῷ σωματί καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ τυφλάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθάνοιαν πᾶσι λαῶν, λέγει  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ· Μεσὸς ὑμῶν ἔστηκεν ὃν ὑμεῖς καὶ οὐδαίτε, ὁ ὀπίσω με ἐρχομένῳ.  
 Ad Celsum, lib. 3. p. 63.

\* Καὶ ὅς ἐστι λογικὸς, μέλει τῇ ἀληθινῇ φῶτι· λογικὸς δὲ ἐστὶ πᾶς  
 ἀνθρώπος, τῶν καὶ μελεχόντων λόγῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐν τισὶ μὲν ἡ ἰσχύς  
 τῆς λογῆς ἠυξήσεται, ἐν τισὶ δὲ ἐκλείπει· εἰάν τις ἰδῇ ψυχὴν ἐμπαθεῖν, καὶ  
 αἰμαζίνῳ, οἶμαι ἐκεῖ τὴν ἰσχύν τῆς λογῆς ἐπιλείπειν. εἰάν τις ἰδῇ ψυχὴν  
 ἁγίαν καὶ δικαίαν, οἶμαι τὴν ἰσχύν τῆς λογῆς σήμερον καρποφορεῖν. In  
 Jer. Comment. vol. i. p. 138.

Christ

Christ being in all men. Origen likewise seems to have supposed that the ancient prophets might have had the *logos* so imparted to them, as that they themselves might have been called *logoi*, as well as Christ. "If Elias," says he, "be a *logos*, "he must be a *logos* inferior to him that "was in the beginning with God \*."

It will be seen in the preceding passages that the *logos* was considered as being more properly the *wisdom*, or *reason* of God; though, in some of them, mention is made of his being the same with other attributes of God, and especially his *power*. In the following passages this is more particularly expressed; "God, by his own omnipotence, "that is, by his Son (for all things were "made by him, and without him nothing "was made) before all things created the "heavens and the earth †." "The energy

\* Εἰ δὲ καὶ λόγος τις ἐστὶν ὁ Ἠλίας, ὑποδεεστερος λόγος τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν θεὸς λόγος. In Matt. Comment. vol. I. p. 307.

† Ergo Deus omnium creatur optimus, per summam suam potentiam, id est, filium suum (omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil) cœlum terramque ante omnia creavit. Cyril. Alex. Opera, vol. I. p. 17.



“ of the Lord has respect to the Almighty ;  
 “ for the Son may be said to be the Fa-  
 “ ther’s energy \*.”

At other times the *logos*, or the Son, is represented as being the *will* of the Father. Clemens Alexandrinus calls the *logos* the will of the Father ; and under the idea of an attribute of God, as giving him to men, he represents him as addressing them in the following manner : “ I give you the *logos*,  
 “ the knowledge of God, I give my whole  
 “ self. This I am, this is what God wills,  
 “ this is symphony, this is the harmony of  
 “ the Father, this is the Son, this the  
 “ Christ, this the *logos* of God, the arm of  
 “ the Lord, almighty power, the will of the  
 “ Father †.”

Cyril of Alexandria expresses the same idea with greater precision. “ How,” says

\* Πασα δὲ ἡ τε κυριε ενεργεια, ἐπὶ τὸν παντοκράτορα τὴν αναφοραν εχει, καὶ εἶναι, ὡς εἶπεν, πατρικὴ τις ενεργεια ὁ υἱος. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7. Opera, p. 703.

† Καὶ λόγον χαρίζομαι ὑμῖν, τὴν γνῶσιν τε θεοῦ, τελειὸν ἐμαυτὸν χαρίζομαι. Τελο εἰμι ἐγώ, τελο βεβηλαί ὁ θεός, τελο συμφωνία ἐστὶ, τελο ἀρμονία πατρός, τελο υἱός, τελο χριστός, τελο ὁ λόγος τε θεοῦ, βραχίων κυρίου, δύναμις τῶν ὅλων, τὸ δεῖλμα τε πατρός. Ad Gentēs, Opera, p. 75.

he,

he, "was he" [Christ] "made by the will  
 "of the Father, if the will of the Father  
 "be in him. For you must either suppose  
 "another wisdom by which he deliberated  
 "and made the Son, as you say" (speaking  
 to the Arians) "or if there be no other,  
 "but the Son alone is the wisdom of the  
 "Father, he is also his will; for the will  
 "of God consists in his wisdom \*." Gre-  
 gory Nyssen also says, "the Son, who is in  
 "the Father, knows the will of the Father;  
 "but rather he is the will of the Father†."  
 "What," says Victorinus, "is the will of  
 "the Father, but his silent word? ‡."

As these writers said, that though the  
 Father emitted the logos, he did not deprive

\* Quomodo igitur per voluntatem patris factus est, si in  
 eo patris voluntas est? Nam aut alteram sapientiam fin-  
 gere necesse est, in qua deliberavit et fecit filium, ut vos  
 dicitis: aut si altera non est, sed solus filius sapientia patris  
 est, ipse quoque voluntas ejus est: in sapientia enim Dei *velle*  
*ipsum est.* Thesaurus, lib. 1. cap. 8. Opera, vol. 2. p. 230.

† Ηθέλησε τι ο πατήρ, καὶ ο ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ὢν υἱός, εἶδε τὸ  
 θελημα τοῦ πατρὸς· μάλλον δὲ αὐτός τε πατὴρ ἐγένετο θε-  
 λημα. Contra Eunomium, Or. 12. Opera, vol. 2. p. 345.

‡ Quid etiam est voluntas patris, nisi filens verbum? Ad  
 Arium, lib. 3. Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 332.

himself



himself of logos, so, some of them likewise supposed, that though the Son was the will of the Father, the latter had another will, like that of man. This is particularly allowed by Manual Caleca, because "volitions," as he says, "have a beginning and an end, whereas neither the essence of God, nor the image of God, can begin or end\*."

Instances occur in which Christ is considered as being the very *soul* of God. Indeed, this idea may have been perceived in some of the former quotations. Eusebius says, there is "one logos in God, which is almighty, and which enlightens all things, as there is one soul, and one rational power in man†."

Origen, after speaking of the soul as a middle principle between the body and

\* Λεγέται δὲ καὶ ἄλλη βεβλήσις ἐξω τῆς ἰστορίας τε θεῆς κατ' ἀνθρώπινον ἐπιβολὴν νοούμενη — Ἡ μὲν ἰστορία τε θεῆς οὐκ ἔχει πρῶτον καὶ τέλος. οὐ γὰρ πρῶτον ἢ εἰκὼν οὐκ ἔχει ἐπαύρατον. ἡ δὲ θελήσις καὶ ἀρχή καὶ πᾶσι καὶ τέλος. Manuel Caleca De Principiis. Auctuarium Combefis, vol. 2. p. 222.

† Εἰς ὃν τε θεῆς λόγος παντοδύναμος τὰ συμπάντα καὶ ἀναγαγεῖ. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μία ψυχὴ καὶ μία λογικὴ δύναμις. De Laudibus Conf. cap. 12. p. 753.



the *spirit*, says “ what then is the soul of  
 “ God ? ” and he replies, that “ as every  
 “ thing that is ascribed to God, as hands,  
 “ fingers, eyes, feet, &c. means his attri-  
 “ butes, or powers ; perhaps by the soul  
 “ of God we are to understand his only  
 “ begotten Son ; for, as the soul, being dif-  
 “ fused through the whole body, animates  
 “ every thing, and does every thing, so the  
 “ only begotten Son of God, which is his  
 “ word, and his wisdom, extends to all the  
 “ attributes of God, and is diffused through  
 “ him \*.” M. Victorinus represents Christ  
 as “ the very being and action of the Fa-  
 “ ther,” and says in his answer to the  
 Arians, that “ God cannot be without ac-  
 “ tion †.” In another passage of the same

† Et si fas est audere nos in tali re amplius aliquid dicere,  
 potest fortasse anima Dei intelligi unigenitus filius ejus.  
 Sicut enim anima, per omne corpus inserta, movet om-  
 nia, et agitat quæ operatur universa: ita et unigenitus  
 filius Dei, qui et verbum et sapientia ejus, pertingit et per-  
 venit ad omnem virtutem Dei, et insertus est ei. De  
 Principiis, Opera, vol. i. p. 703.

† Hoc enim quod *λογος* est: ipse enim *λογος* Deus est,  
 unum ergo et *ομοουσιον*, non enim sine actione Deus, sed

work, he calls Christ *the form of the Father*, defining *form*, if I understand him right, to be that which explains the being of a thing ; or, as he elsewhere says, *that by which God is seen* \*.

At length the absurdity of making Christ to be the proper reason, power, or will of God, seems to have struck some of the orthodox christians ; and then, having no other resource, they made the doctrine of the divinity of Christ to be a *mystery*, thinking by that means, to cut off all inquiry and objection. Ruffinus says, “ it is to be *believed* that God is the father of his own Son our Lord, and not to be *dis-*

intus operatur Deus, sicuti dictum. Substantia autem Dei imago est, actio, filiusque est, per quam intelligitur, et quod fit declaratur. Ad Arium, lib. i. Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 298.

\* Quoniam filius forma est patris : non autem nunc forma esse foris extra substantiam intelligitur, neque ut in nobis adjacens substantiæ facies, sed substantia quædam subsistens, in qua apparet et demonstratur quod occultatum et velatum est in alio. Deus autem ut velatum quiddam est : nemo enim videt Deum : forma igitur filius, in quo videtur Deus. Ibid. p. 311. 320.

“ *cursed*

“*cuffed.* For slaves must not dispute about  
“the birth of their masters\*.”

Theophylact says, that “Christ is the  
“logos of God, but neither the inward  
“logos” (meaning reason) “nor the ex-  
“ternal logos” (meaning speech) “nor any  
“thing that can be explained by any pro-  
“perty of man, being something peculiar  
“to God †.” In this state the doctrine of  
the generation of the Son now rests, equally  
incapable of being understood, or defended.

We shall the less wonder at the extreme  
absurdity of the above quotations from the  
Fathers, when we consider what wretched

\* *Credendus est ergo Deus esse pater unici filii sui  
domini nostri, non discutiendus. Neque enim fas est servo  
de natalibus domini disputare. In Symbol, p. 172.*

† Λογος εστιν, εκ εργων, εδε κτισμα. διτις δε οντος τς λογς, ο μεν  
γαρ εστιν ενδιαθελος, ον κη μη λεγοντες εχομεν, φημι δε την τς λεγειν δυνα-  
μιν. κη κοιμωμενος γαρ τις κη μη λεγων, ομως εχει τον λογον εν αυτω  
κειμενον, κη την δυναμιν εκ απεθαλεν. ο μεν εν εστιν ενδιαθελος, ο δε  
προφορικος, ον κη δια των χειλεων προφερομεν, την τς λεγειν δυναμιν  
τς ενδιαθελες, κη εντος κειμενης, εις ενεργειαν προαγοντες. διτις τοιων  
οντος τς λογς, εδελeros τελων αρμοζει επι τς υις τς θες, ελε γαρ προφορι-  
κος, ελε ενδιαθελος εστιν ο λογος τς θες. εκεινοι μεν γαρ των φυσικων κη  
καθ ημας, ο δε τς πατρος λογος υπερ φυσιν αν, εκ υποβαλλεται τοις  
κατω τεχνολογημασιν. In John, cap. i. Opera, vol. i. p. 557.



metaphysicians both they and the Platonists before them, and indeed all the philosophers of antiquity, were; and that the idea of a proper personification was not difficult, after it had been agreed that *essence* and *power* were the same thing, which I have shewn to be the language of the Platonists; and the same occurs in some of the christian Fathers. Thus Cyril of Alexandria says that "the Father is a simple act or energy\*." Maxentius also says, that "with respect to " God, who is of an impassible and incorruptible nature, *nature* and *will* are the " same thing†." M. Victorinus says, that " power and substance are the same things " in God‡."

\* Actus vel efficacia Pater. De Trinitate, lib. 2. Opera, vol. 2. p. 386.

† Hæc quæ dicis compositæ et passibili naturæ sunt propria, impassibili autem et incompositæ non est aliud naturaliter aliud voluntarie quidpiam facere, sed prorsus unum atque idipsum est, quia ibi non aliud est natura, aliud voluntas, sed natura voluntas est, et voluntas natura. Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 527.

‡ Simul enim et filius, et in patre, et pater in filio: una ergo potentia, hoc est, una substantia existit, ibi enim potentia

The difference, however, between these things was perceived by Eunomius; for M. Caleca says, that he made the divine essence and operation to be different things, and that he blamed the orthodox for confounding them\*. Palamas also asserted, that the divine essence and operation were different things; but on this account his antagonist M. Caleca calls him a polytheist †.

potentia, substantia: non enim aliud potentia, aliud substantia. Idem ergo ipsum est et patri et filio. Ad Arium, lib. 1. Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 300.

\* Επιστημα εκ ενιαυδα χρη, πως Ευνομιος διχει μεν απο της υσιος την ενεργειαν, ως εγκλημα δε, την ταυλοησια τοις ορθοδοξοις προσφερε. Combesis, vol. 2. p. 34.

† Εκ τειων δηλον, οτι την ενεργειαν, ην διακρινεσθαι της υσιος λεγεται ταυτην κ' θεοησια κ' ακλιστον ομολογειν. Ibid. p. 3.

Ως ει τις πολλας θεοτητας παραδεξατο, τετον αναγκη κ' πολλας θεος ομολογειν. Ibid. p. 40.

## CHAPTER III.

*The Defence of the preceding Doctrine by the Fathers.*

**I**T is no wonder that this strange doctrine of the generation of the Son from the attributes of the Father should bring the orthodox christians into some difficulties, and expose their scheme to objections; or that, in order to defend it, they should have recourse to a variety of expedients. Accordingly, it appears, by the labour which they bestowed upon this subject, that the doctrine was, in fact, much objected to, and that, in their own opinion, it required to be well explained and defended.

The first thing which they had to guard against was the *diminution* of the substance of the Father by the production of a Son from himself; and the next thing was to prevent the entire, *separation* of the Son from the Father; for then there would have been two *two Gods*, which the Gnostics, who



who held the doctrine of the emanation of all super-angelic beings from the divine essence, readily acknowledged. But this having been so long decried, as a doctrine of the Gnostics, and being exceedingly offensive to the great body of common people among christians, it could not be adopted.

It was hardly possible to find any *comparison* in nature by which they could remove both these objections to their doctrine at the same time, viz. the loss of substance in the Father by the generation of the Son, and the entire separation of the Son from him. All their explications, therefore, we find entirely fail in one respect or the other. The earliest of all the explanations of this doctrine is, that of the issuing of words from men. The philosophizing christians compared the emission of the logos from the Father to the emission of *logos*, or *reason*, from man, in speech or discourse; and, miserably lame as this explanation obviously is, many of them could find no better, and therefore they took much pains to answer the objections that

were made to it. Another famous comparison to which they had recourse in the earliest period, was the lighting of one torch at another. But though this did not take any thing from the light of the former torch, it made two distinct torches. Still, however, much use was made of this comparison, as being thought remarkably happy in answering one of the objections. But I must proceed to explain their manner of reasoning by extracts from their own writings.

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## SECTION I.

*The Generation of the Son from the Father  
illustrated by the uttering of Words.*

TATIAN says concerning the generation of the *logos* from the Father, that "it is by division, not by avulsion," "because that which is cut off from its origin is entirely removed from it; but "that which is divided" (or imparted) "taking

“ taking a portion of the *æconomy*\*, does  
 “ not leave that from which it was taken  
 “ destitute. For as many fires are lighted  
 “ by one torch, without any diminution of  
 “ its light; thus the *logos* emitted from  
 “ the power of the Father does not leave  
 “ him void of *logos*.” To explain this,  
 he adds, “ I speak, and you hear, but by  
 “ discoursing with you I do not become void  
 “ of *logos*, by the transmission of my *logos*  
 “ to you; but I propose, by the emission  
 “ of my voice, to arrange some unformed  
 “ matter in you†.” This he, no doubt,

\* This, as part of a *general proposition*, is a very obscure expression. Had he been describing the emission of the Son from the Father in particular, it would have meant his assuming *proper personality*, in order to his taking part in the plan that was formed for the redemption of man, which is often called *the æconomy*. This phrase is, therefore, generally synonymous to *the incarnation* with the Fathers.

† Γεγονε δε καὶα μερισμον, & καὶα αποκοπην. το γαρ απολημνηθεν τε πρώτῃς μεχωρίζεται, το δε μερισθεν οικονομίας την αρεσιν προσλαβον εκ ενδεα τον οθεν ειληληται πεποινηκεν. ωσπερ γαρ απο μιας δαδος αναπλείαι μεν πυρα πολλά, της δε πρώτης δαδος δια την εξαψιν των πολλων δαδων εκ ελατλείαι το φως. εἰω κ' ο λογος προελθων εκ της τε πατρός δυναμεως, εκ αλογον πέποινηκε τον γεγεννητοτα. κ' γαρ ενός εγω λαλω, κ' υμεις ακούετε κ' ε δητε δια της μετάδοσεως τε λόγου, κενος



meant to be a complete illustration of the emission of the *logos* from the Father, in order to arrange the matter of the chaos out of which the world was made.

To this explication it was obvious to object, that the emission of a word in speech is no *generation* of any thing, words being empty sounds, and nothing permanent. But the reply to this was, that words are empty things, and leave nothing permanent only when uttered by *man*; but that this is not the case with the words of *God*; the difference in the being from which they proceed making a corresponding difference in the things which proceed from them. In the following passages Tertullian states this hypothesis, with the proof of it from the scriptures, before he replies to the objection which I have mentioned.

“ Then therefore did the *word* (*Sermo*) assume its form, and dress, its sound and voice, when God said, *Let there be light*,  
 “ This is the perfect nativity of the word,

μενος ο προσωμιλων λογος γινομαι· προβαλλομενος δε την εμαυτης φωνην, διακοσμειν την εν υμιν ακοσμητον υλην προσηρηται. Ad Græcos, sect. 8. Opera, p. 22.

“ when

“ when it proceeded from God, being first  
“ formed by him under the name of *wisdom*.  
“ *The Lord formed me the beginning of his*  
“ *ways*. Then it was effectually generated.  
“ *When he prepared the heavens I was present*  
“ *with him*. By proceeding from whom he  
“ became his son, his first-born, as being be-  
“ gotten before all things, and *only begot-*  
“ *ten*, as being alone generated out of God,  
“ from the womb of his heart; as the Fa-  
“ ther himself testifies, when he says, *My*  
“ *heart is throwing out a good word*, to  
“ whom rejoicing, the Father also rejoicing  
“ says, *Thou art my Son, this day have I be-*  
“ *gotten thee*. Before Lucifer have I begotten  
“ *thee*. So the Son also, under the name of  
“ *wisdom*, confesses the Father, *The Lord*  
“ *formed me the beginning of his ways; before*  
“ *the hills has he begotten me*. For if here  
“ *wisdom* seems to say that she was made for  
“ his works, and ways, in another place it  
“ is shown that all things are made by his  
“ word, and without it was nothing made.  
“ And again, *by his word were the heavens*  
“ *made, and all their hosts by his spirit*,  
“ viz. the spirit which is in the word.

“ So

“ So that it is the same power which is  
 “ sometimes called *wisdom*, and sometimes  
 “ *the word*\*.”

His stating of the objection, and his answer to it are as follow: “ You suppose  
 “ this *Sermo* to be a substance, &c.—What,

\* Tunc igitur etiam ipse sermo speciem et ornatum suum sumit, sonum et vocem, cum dicit Deus, fiat lux. Hæc est nativitas perfecta sermonis, dum ex Deo procedit: conditus ab eo primum ad cogitatum in nomine sophiæ, dominus condidit me initium viarum. Dehinc generatus ad effectum: Cum pararet cælum, aderam illic simul. Exinde eum parem sibi faciens, de quo procedendo filius factus est, primogenitus, ut ante omnia genitus; et unigenitus, ut solus ex Deo genitus: proprie de vulva cordis ipsius, secundum quod et pater ipse testatur, eructavit cor meum sermonem optimum. Ad quem deinceps gaudens proinde gaudentem in persona illius, filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te. Et ante Luciferum genui te: Sic et filius ex sua persona profitetur patrem in nomine sophiæ, dominus condidit me initium viarum in opera sua. Ante omnes autem colles generavit me. Nam si hic quidem sophia videtur dicere conditam se a domino in opera et vias ejus: alibi autem per sermonem ostenditur omnia facta esse, et sine illo nihil factum; sicut et rursus, sermone ejus cœli confirmati sunt, et spiritu ejus omnes vires eorum; utique eo spiritu qui sermoni inerat: apparet unam eandem que vim esse nunc in nomine sophiæ, nunc in appellatione sermonis: Ad Praxeam, sect. 5, 6, 7. Opera, p. 503.

“ say



“ say you, is speech, but the voice and sound  
“ of the mouth, with a kind of vacuity,  
“ empty, and incorporeal. But I say that  
“ nothing empty and having vacuity can  
“ proceed from God, as it does not proceed  
“ from what is empty and vacuity; nor  
“ can that want substance, which proceeds  
“ from so great a substance, and which has  
“ made so many substances\*.”

Lactantius answered the same objection  
in the same manner. “ Our breathings are  
“ dissoluble, because we are mortal; but  
“ the breathings of God live, remain, and  
“ have essence, because he is immortal, the

\* Ergo; inquis, das aliquam substantiam esse sermonem, spiritu et sophiæ traditione constructam plane. Non vis enim eum substantivum habere in re per substantiæ proprietatem, ut res et persona quædam videri possit, et ita capiat secundus a Deo constitutus duos efficere, patrem et filium, Deum et sermonem. Quid est enim, dices, sermo, nisi vox et sonus oris et (sicut grammatici tradunt) aër offensus, intelligibilis auditu; ceterum, vacuum nescio quid, et inane, et incorporeale? At ego nihil dico de Deo inane et vacuum prodire putuisse, ut non de inani et vacuo prolatum; nec carere substantia, quod de tanta substantia processit, et tantas substantias fecit. Ad Praxeam, sect. 5. cap. 7, Opera, p. 503.

“ giver

“giver of essence and life\*.” The same answer is given by Origen, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Austin, and, I believe, many others. “The logos of God,” says Origen, “is not like that of all other persons. No other logos is living; no other logos is God, no other logos was in the beginning with him whose logos it was†.” “The word of man,” says Epiphanius, “vanishes, but the word of God abideth,” alluding to Ps. cxviii. 89†.

Athanasius having spoken of the Father as the only God, because he only is unbegotten (αγεννητος) and the fountain of deity;

\* Nostri spiritus dissolubiles sunt, quia mortales sumus. Dei autem spiritus et vivunt, et manent, et sentiunt; quia ipse immortalis est, et sensus, et vitæ dator. Instit. lib. 4. sect. 8. p. 371.

† Οὐτε γὰρ ὁ λόγος αὐτὸς τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, ὅποιος ὁ πάντων λόγος· ἄλλ’ ὁ λόγος ζῶν, ἄλλος ὁ λόγος θεός· ἄλλος γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἦν, ἢ ὁ λόγος ἦν. In Jer. Hom. 19. Comment. vol. 1. p. 184.

‡ Οὐ γὰρ ὁ τὸ ἀνδρῶπι λόγος, ἀνδρῶπι πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρῶπον· εἴτε γὰρ ζῇ, εἴτε ὑπῆσεν· καρδίας δὲ ζωῆς καὶ ὑψέωστος κίνημα ἐστὶ μόνον, καὶ οὐκ ὑποσάσις· λεγέσθαι γὰρ αἶμα, καὶ παραχρημα εἶναι ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ λαλεῖν διαμένει· τὸ δὲ θεὸς ὁ λόγος, ὡς φησὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ σαλμὶ τῶν Προφητῶν· ὁ λόγος σε εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διαμένει. Hær. 60. Opera, vol. 1. p. 609.

and

and of the Son as only *God of God*, says, in answer to the question how this *logos* can become a person in God, when it is not so in man, “the word conceived in the mind  
“of man does not become *man of man*,  
“since it does not live or subsist, but is  
“only the motion of a living and subsisting  
“heart. When it is pronounced it has no  
“continuance, and being often uttered does  
“not remain; whereas the psalmist says,  
“*the word of the Lord remaineth for ever*,  
“and the Evangelist agrees with him, &c.\*”

Ruffinus makes the same comparison between the emission of the *logos* in God, and man, but hints that they are both equally mysterious. Treating of this subject, he says, “Explain first, if you can, how the  
“mind which is within you generates a  
“word, and how the spirit of memory is  
“in it; and though these are different in

\* Ου γαρ ο λογος τς ανθρωπε ανθρωπος εστιν παρ ανθρωπον • επει μητε ζων εστι, μητε υφεως, αλλα ζωσης καρδιας κ' υφεωσης κινημα μονον. κ' λεγεται παραχρημα, κ' ηκ εστι. κ' πολλοις καλεμεν, εδεποτε διαμενει • τον δε τς θες λογον ανωθεν, ο ψαλμωδς κεκραγει λεγων, εις του αιωνα ο λογος σε διαμενει εν τω υρανω. κ' συμφωνως αυτω ο θεον ειναι τς λογον ομολογων ο Ευαγγελιστης, &c. De æterna Substantia Filii, &c. Contra Sabellii Gregales, Opera, vol. 1. p. 651.

“ things



“ things and acts, yet they are one in substance and nature; and though they proceed from the mind, they are never separated from it\*.”

Lactantius proposes and speaks to another difficulty on this subject. For the *angels* being likewise called *spirits*, or *breathings* of God, there was some danger lest they should be considered as beings of the same rank with the *logos* in Christ. But this writer observes, that there is a difference between a *word* which is emitted with a *sound*, and a mere *breathing*, which is emitted without that circumstance; and this, according to him, sufficiently accounts for the difference between Christ and the angels.

“ How,” says this writer, “ did he” (the father) “ procreate him” (the word)? “ In the first place the works of God cannot be known, nor told by any person. But we learn in the holy scriptures, that the

\* Expedi primo si potes, quomodo mens, quæ intra te est generet verbum, et qui sit in ea memoriæ spiritus: quomodo hæc cum diversa sint rebus et actibus, unum tamen sint vel substantia vel natura, et cum e mente procedant, nunquam tamen ab ipsa separentur. In Symbol. Opera, p. 172.

“ Son of God is the word of God, or rea-  
“ son ; also that the other angels of God  
“ are spirits, i. e. *breathings*. For a word  
“ is a breathing emitted with a sound, ex-  
“ pressive of something. But because *breath-*  
“ *ings* and a *word* are emitted from different  
“ parts (for *breathings* proceed from the  
“ nostrils, and a word from the mouth)  
“ there is a great difference between the  
“ Son of God and the other angels. For  
“ they are *silent breathings*, emitted from  
“ God, because they were created for *ser-*  
“ *vice*, and not for the delivering the doc-  
“ trine of God. But though he is also a  
“ spirit, yet since he issues from the mouth  
“ of God, with a voice, and a sound, like a  
“ word, for this reason he was to make use  
“ of his voice to the people, because he was  
“ to teach with authority the doctrine of  
“ God, and communicate heavenly secrets  
“ to men \*.”

\* Quomodo igitur procreavit? Primum nec sciri a  
quoquam possunt, nec narrari opera divina ; sed tamen  
sanctæ literæ docent ; in quibus cautum est illum Dei fili-  
um, Dei esse sermonem ; sive etiam rationem ; itemque  
cæteros angelos Dei spiritus esse. Nam sermo est spiritus  
cum voce aliquid significante prolatus. Sed tamen quo-

Absurd as is this notion of the generation of the Son by merely uttering a word, we find the same, or similar explanations of this doctrine after the council of Nice. Austin

says, "The Father shews every thing to the Son, and in shewing, generates the Son \*."

But in another passage he makes a difference between the uttering of a word in man and in God. "We do not," he says, "generate sounding words, but we *make* them †."

But Cyril of Alexandria, quoting Ps. 44. *My heart is throwing out a good matter*, says, "The Father produces the Son without passion, as a wise man, out of his own

niam spiritus; et sermo diversis partibus proferuntur; si quidem spiritus naribus, ore sermo procedit; magna inter hunc Dei filium, et cœteros angelos differentia est. Illi enim ex Deo taciti spiritus exierunt; quia non ad doctrinam Dei tradendam, sed ad ministerium creabantur. Ille vero cum sit et ipse spiritus; tamen cum voce, ac sono ex Dei ore processit, sicut verbum, ea scilicet ratione, quia voce ejus ad populum fuerat usus; id est, quod ille magister futurus esset doctrinæ Dei, et cœlestis arcani ad homines perferendi. Instit. lib. 4. sect. 8. p. 371.

\* Pater ostendit filio quod facit, et ostendendo filium gignit. In. John. Tr. 23. cap. 5. Opera, vol. 9. p. 204.

† Nos quippe non gignimus sonantia verba, sed facimus. De Symbol. cap. 1. Opera, vol. 3. p. 141.

"wisdom,



“wisdom, produces any work that he has  
“thought of, as of geometry, or music,  
“&c\*.”

This comparison of the word of God to that of man, we find so late as Fulgentius, who also infers the dignity of the word from the dignity of the mind that produces it†.

\* Præterea, sic ex seipso, absque passione, filium genuit pater, sicut si sapiens ex sapientia sua quicquam excogitaverit atque pepererit, veluti geometriam, musicam aut aliquid hujusmodi. Thesaurus, lib. 1. cap. 7. Opera, vol. 2, p. 229.

† Sed sic est verbum apud Deum, sicut est in mente verbum, sicut in corde consilium : cum enim mens apud se verbum habet, utique cogitando habet, quia nihil aliud est apud se dicere, quam apud se cogitare. Cum ergo mens cogitat, et cogitando verbum intra se generat, de sua substantia generat verbum, et sic illud verbum generat de se, ut genitum habeat apud se. Nec minus aliquid habet verbum, quod ex mente nascitur quam est mens de qua nascitur, quia quanta est mens quæ generat verbum, tantum est etiam ipsum verbum. Ad Monimum, lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 439.

## SECTION II.

*The Generation of the Son from the Father illustrated by the prolation of a branch of a tree from the root, &c.*

HAVING, I imagine, pursued this phantom far enough, I shall proceed to consider the generation of the Son from the Father in a more substantial manner, viz. as that of a branch from a root, or a river from a spring, &c. which was likewise very common with the early Fathers. This, however, came so near to the system of the Gnostic *emanation* of celestial beings from the supreme mind, that it could not but give some alarm. This objection, therefore, those who have recourse to this explanation of the generation of the Son endeavour to guard against.

We see, in Athenagoras, what great stress was laid on the idea of a *perfect union* between the Father and the Son. He says, that “as all things are subject to the emperor, and his son, so all things are sub-  
 1 “ject

“ject to the one God, and him who is by  
 “him considered as his son, but *undivided*  
 “from him \*.”

Tertullian, in his answer to the objections that were made to the generation of the Son from the Father, seems to have aimed at nothing besides making out a scheme different from that of the Gnostics, which, in his time, was a doctrine peculiarly offensive. All his object, therefore, is to shew that the Son, though deriving his being from the Father, still remained united to him. “If any one,” says he, “thinks  
 “that I am introducing some *probole*, that  
 “is the production of one thing from another, as Valentinus makes, by producing  
 “one of his æons from another.---Valentinus separates his *proboles* from their author, and so far, that the æon does not  
 “know his father.—But with us the Son  
 “only knows the Father.—For God produced his word — as a root produces a  
 “branch, a fountain a river, and the sun a

\* Ως γαρ υμιν πατρις κ' υιος παντα μεχειρωται, σωθεν την βασιλειαν ειλησθαι, ειως ενι τω θεω κ' τω πατρ αυτου λογω υιος νομισθω αμειψτω παντα υπολεισται. Apol. p. 140.



“ beam of light. For these things are the  
 “ *proboles* of their respective substances —  
 “ Neither is the branch separated from the  
 “ root, the river from the fountain, or the  
 “ beam from the sun. So neither is the  
 “ word from God. So that, according to  
 “ this example, I profess that I make God  
 “ and his word two, the Father and his  
 “ Son. For the root and branch are two,  
 “ but joined. The fountain and the river  
 “ are two, but undivided; and the sun and  
 “ the beam are two, but cohering \*.”

\* Hoc si qui putaverit me *προβολην* aliquam introducere,  
 id est, prolationem rei alterius ex altera, quod facit Valen-  
 tinus, alium atque alium æonem de æone produciens. —  
 Valentinus probolas suas discernit et separat ab autore: et  
 ita longe ab eo ponit, ut æon patrem nesciat. — Apud  
 nos autem solus filius patrem novit, et sinum patris ipse ex-  
 posuit, et omnia apud patrem audivit et vidit; et quæ man-  
 datus est a patre, ea et loquitur. — Protulit enim Deus  
 sermonem, quamadmodum etiam paracletus docet, sicut  
 radix fruticem, et fons fluvium, et sol radium. Nam et  
 iste species probolæ sunt earum substantiarum, ex quibus  
 prodeunt. — Nec frutex tamen a radice, nec fluvius a  
 fonte, nec radius a sole discernitur, sicut nec a Deo sermo.  
 Igitur secundum horum exemplorum formam, profiteor me  
 duos dicere, Deum et sermonem ejus, patrem et filium  
 ipsius. Nam et radix et frutex duæ res sunt, sed con-  
 junctæ,

This writer's fear of making a separation between the Son and the Father appears very strongly in the following passage, which has a view to the unitarians, to whom he thought it necessary to make frequent apologies. "He that is un-  
"learned, or perverse, takes this in a wrong  
"sense, as if I favoured a *diversity*, and as  
"if this diversity implied a *separation* of  
"the Father and the Son. This I urge  
"from necessity, when they contend that  
"the Father, Son, and Spirit, must be *the*  
"*same*, flattering the monarchy against the  
"œconomy; when I say that making  
"the Son another from the Father, I do  
"not make him *different* from him, but  
"only maintain a distribution. I do not  
"make a division, but a distinction. For  
"the Father and Son are not the same, nor  
"yet another, from another model. For  
"the Father is all substance; but the Son  
"a part of this substance, and a portion,

junctæ; et fons et flumen dū species sunt, sed indivisæ;  
et sol et radius dū formæ sunt, sed coherentes. Adv.  
Præeam, sect. 8. Opera, p. 504.



“as he himself professes, The Father is  
“greater than I\*.”

We see the same care to guard against a  
division of the Father and Son in Hippoly-  
tus. “By speaking of *another*,” he says,  
“I do not make *two Gods*, but as light from  
“light, water from the spring, or a beam  
“of light from the sun. For the power  
“of the whole is one; the Father is the  
“whole, and the logos is his power†.”

On another occasion Tertullian says that  
the term *προβολή* (*probole*) which had been  
much used by the Gnostics, was not the

\* Male accipit idiotæ quisque aut perversus hoc dictum,  
quasi diversitatem sonet, et ex diversitate separationem pro-  
tendat, patris et filii et spiritus. Necessitate autem hoc  
dico, cum eundem patrem et filium et spiritum contem-  
dunt, adversus œconomiam monarchiæ adulantes, non  
tamen diversitate alium filium a patre, sed distributione;  
nec divisione alium, sed distinctione; quia non sit idem  
pater et filius, vel modulo alius ab alio. Pater enim tota  
substantia est: filius vero derivatio totius et portio, sicut  
ipse profitetur, quia pater major me est. Adv. Praxeam,  
sect. 9. Opera, p. 504.

† Καὶ ὅπως παριστάτω αὐτῷ ἕτερος. Ἐτερον λεγὼν ὃ ὁνομασθεὶς λεγῶν  
οὐδ' ὡς φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ἢ ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς, ἢ ὡς ἀκίνητα ἀπὸ κινή-  
σεως. Δύναμις γὰρ μία ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, τοῦ δὲ παντὸς Πατρὸς, ἐξ ἧς δύναμις λόγος.  
Contra Noetum, sect. 11. Opera, p. 13.

worse



worse on that account, and therefore he should not scruple to make use of it in his own sense, or the corresponding Latin term *prolatio*. Speaking of the Son, "he was," he says, "prolated out of God, and generated by prolation, and therefore the Son of God, and called God from an unity of substance." He then compares this prolation of the Son from the Father, to one light produced from another, without any loss of the original light—"This ray of God," he says, "going into a certain virgin, became flesh in her womb, and was born a man, mixed with God. The flesh animated by the spirit is nourished, grows up, speaks, teaches, operates, and is Christ\*." In after times,

\* Hunc ex Deo prolatum dicimus, et prolatione generatum, et id circo filium Dei, et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ, nam et Deus spiritus, et cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa; sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur. Ita de spiritu spiritus, et de Deo Deus, ut lumen de lumine accensum, manet integra et indefecta materie matrix, etsi plures inde traduces qualitatum mutueris. Ita et quod de Deo profectum est, Deus est, et Dei filius et unus ambobus. Ita et de spiritu spiritus, et de Deo Deus. Modulo alterum,

the Arians charged the orthodox with this doctrine of *prolation*, as not differing from that of the Gnostics\*.

Tertullian was so far carried away with this idea of *generation*, that, always delivering himself without reserve, and as clearly as he possibly could, he appears not to have been very solicitous about maintaining the proper *unity* of the Father and Son, attending only to this one circumstance, that they were of *the same substance*, and strictly *connected*. "The persons in the trinity,"

alterum, non numero; gradu non statu fecit. Et a matrice non recessit, sed excessit. Iste igitur Dei radius, ut retro semper prædicabatur, delapsus in virginem quamdam, et in utero ejus caro figuratus, nascitur homo Deo mistus, caro spiritu instructa nutritur, adolescit, affatur, docet, operatur, et Christus est. Apol. sect. 21. Opera, p. 19.

\* Volentes igitur hæretici, Dei filium non ex Deo esse, neque de natura, et in natura Dei ex Deo Deum natum, cum jam superius commemorassent unum Deum solum verum, neque adjecissent, et patrem, ut unius veritatis esse patrem, et filium exclusa proprietate nativitatis negarent dixerunt. Nec ut Valentinus prolatione natum patris commentatus est: ut sub specie hæreseos Valentinianæ, nomine prolationis improbo, nativitatem Dei ex Deo improbarent. Hilary, lib. 6. Opera, p. 102.

says



says he, "are three, not in state, but  
 "degree, not in substance, but in form;  
 "not in power, but appearance; but of  
 "one substance, and one state, and one  
 "power, because there is one God, from  
 "whom those degrees, forms, and spe-  
 "cies, in the name of Father, Son, and  
 "Spirit are deputed\*." He therefore ob-  
 serves, that when our Saviour said, *I and my  
 Father are one*, he used the neuter gender.  
 "He says *unum*, in the neuter gender, which  
 "does not imply *one person*, but unity,  
 "likeness, conjunction, the love of the  
 "Father to the Son, and the obedience of  
 "the Son to the will of the Father†."  
 This respected the Sabellians, who laid great

\* Tres autem non statu, sed gradu; nec substantia, sed forma; nec potestate, sed specie; unius autem substantiæ, et unius status, et unius potestatis; quia unus Deus, ex quo et gradus isti et formæ et species, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti deputantur. Ad Praxeam, sect. 2. p. 501.

† Unum dicit, neutrali verbo, quod non pertinet ad singularitatem, sed ad unitatem, ad similitudinem, ad conjunctionem, ad dilectionem patris, qui filium diligit, et ad obsequium filii, qui voluntati patris obsequitur. Ibid. sect. 22. Opera, p. 513.

strefs



stress on Christ's saying, that he and the Father were one. These were the philosophical unitarians, who adhered strictly to the doctrine of one God.

With a view to the unitarians, who were the majority of the common christians in the time of Tertullian, as he particularly acknowledges, he is obliged to use a good deal of management, and though he contends for the propriety of calling the Son God, as *a branch* from God the Father, yet so great was the superiority of the Father to the Son, that he says he does not chuse to call the Son God, when the Father had been mentioned immediately before. "I do not absolutely say that there are Gods, and Lords, but I follow the apostle; and if the Father and the Son are to be named together, I call the Father God, and Jesus Christ Lord, though I can call Christ God, as the apostle, when he says of *whom is Christ, who is God over all blessed for ever*. For, separately taken, I call a beam of light the sun; but speaking of the sun, whose beam it is, I do not immediately call the beam the sun.

" For,

“ For, though I do not make two suns, yet  
 “ I say that the sun and his beam are two  
 “ things, and two species of one undivided  
 “ substance; like God and his word, the  
 “ Father and the Son \*.”

The ideas of Lactantius on this subject seem to have been very much the same with those of Tertullian, as has been seen in former instances; and like him, he is chiefly careful to guard against the *separation* of the Son from the substance of the Father, lest he should make different gods. “ When we say that the Father is “ God, and the Son God, we do not mean

\* Itaque deos omnino non dicam, nec dominos; sed apostolum sequar, ut si pariter nominandi fuerint pater et filius, Deum patrem appellem, et Jesum Christum Dominum nominem. Solum autem Christum potero, Deum dicere, sicut idem apostolus. Ex quibus Christus, qui est inquit, Deus super omnia benedictus in ævum omne. Nam et radium solis seorsum solem vocabo; solem autem nominans cujus est radius, non statim et radium solem appellabo. Nam etsi soles duos non faciam, tamen et solem et radium ejus tam duas res, et duas species unius indivisæ substantiæ numerabo, quam Deum et sermonem ejus, quam patrem et filium. Ad Praxeam, sect. 13. Opera, p. 507.

“ a different



“ a different God, nor do we separate them,  
“ For neither can the Father be without a  
“ Son, nor the Son without a Father. Nor  
“ can the Son be separated from the Fa-  
“ ther ; as the Father cannot have his name  
“ without the Son, nor the Son be gene-  
“ rated without a Father. Since, there-  
“ fore, the Father produces a Son, and the  
“ Son becomes one, there is one mind, one  
“ spirit, one substance, common to them  
“ both. But the Father is like an exu-  
“ berant fountain, and the Son a river  
“ flowing from it. The Father is as the  
“ sun, the Son as a beam stretched from  
“ the sun ; who, because he is faithful, and  
“ dear to the Father, is not separated from  
“ him, as the river is not separated from  
“ the spring, nor the beam of light from  
“ the sun ; because the water of the spring  
“ is in the river, and the light of the sun  
“ in the beam. In like manner, neither  
“ is the voice separated from the mouth,  
“ nor the power, or the hand, separated  
“ from the body. When the same person  
“ is called by the prophets the *hand of God*,  
“ and the *power*, and the *word of God*,  
“ there



“there is no separation between them.  
“For the tongue subservient to the speech,  
“and the hand, in which is power, are  
“inseparable parts of the body\*.”

Tertullian appears, however, not a little embarrassed with the question how the Father can be called *the one God*, if the Son, though connected with him, can, in any proper sense, even where the Father is not mentioned, be called *God*; but he seems to satisfy himself with saying, that as the proper stile of the Father before he had a Son

\* Cum dicimus Deum patrem, et Deum filium, non diversum dicimus, nec utrumque secernimus, quia nec pater sine filio potest; nec filius a patre secerni, siquidem nec pater sine filio nuncupari, nec filius potest sine patre generari. Cum igitur et pater filium faciat, et filius fiat; una utrique mens, unus spiritus, una substantia est; sed ille quasi exuberans fons est; hic tanquam defluens ex eo rivus, ille tanquam sol; hic quasi radius a sole porrectus, qui quoniam summo patri et fidelis, et carus est, non separatur, sicut nec rivus a fonte, nec radius a sole; quia et aqua fontis in rivo est, et solis lumen in radio. Æque neque vox ab ore sejungi, nec virtus, aut manus a corpore divelli potest. Cum igitur a prophetis idem manus Dei, et virtus, et sermo dicatur, utique nulla discretio est; quia et lingua sermonis ministra est, et manus, in qua est virtus, individuae sunt corporis portiones. Lib. 4. sect. 29. p. 446.

was

was that of *the one God*, he could not lose it in consequence of having a Son, especially as that Son derives his divinity from his inseparable connexion with the Father. "Without injuring the rights of the Son, the Father," he says, "may be called *the only God*, which was his original title, whenever he is named without the Son. But he is named without the Son when he is spoken of as the *first person*, which is to be named before that of the Son; because the Father is first known, and the Son after the Father. Wherefore there is one God the Father, and no other besides him; which when he says, he does not deny the Son, but some other God; for the Son is not *another* from the Father—as if the sun had said, I am the sun, and besides me there is no other, except my beam \*."

\* Salvo enim filio, recte unicum Deum potest determinasse, cujus est filius. Non enim definit esse qui habet filium ipse unicus, suo scilicet nomine, quotiens sine filio nominatur. Sine filio autem nominatur, cum principaliter determinatur ut prima persona, quæ ante filii nomen erat proponenda; quia pater ante cognoscitur, et post patrem filius nominatur. Igitur unus Deus pater, et alius absque

One of Austin's explanations of the generation of the Son bears some resemblance to those of a branch from the root, and of a river from a spring; but a much greater to the Gnostic prolations. "As the Son," says he, "is from the Father, so the woman is from the man," meaning Eve from Adam\*. For here unhappily the woman was intirely detached from the man.

In the oration of Constantine the union of the Son with the Father is preserved on a more metaphysical principle, viz. that of the divine nature having no relation to place. "For he that came from him is united to him again; for the separation and union, being not *topically*, but *intellectually*, that which is produced was attended with no

eo non est. Quod ipse inferens, non filium negat, sed alium Deum, ceterum, alius a patre filius non est.—Alium enim etiam filium fecisset, quem de aliis excepisset. Puta solem dicere: Ego sol, et alius præter me non est, nisi radius meus. Ad Praxeam, sect. 18. Opera, p. 510.

\* Ut quemadmodum de patre est filius, sic et de viro mulier. Questiones in V. T. 21. Opera, vol. 4. p. 713.



“ loss of any thing within the Father, as  
 “ in the case of seeds\*.”

Justin Martyr, and others, thought that the comparison of lighting one lamp at another happily illustrated the production of the Son from the Father. But it was afterwards perceived that, according to this, there must be an intire *separation* between them. On this idea Hilary objects to it as having been used by Hierax†.

\* Ο ΔΕ ΕΞ ΕΚΕΙΝΩ ΕΧΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΦΟΡΑΝ, ΕΙΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΕΝΟΥΣΙΑ ΠΑΛΙΝ· ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΑΓΑΣΕΩΣ ΔΥΣΚΡΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΤΕ, & ΤΟΠΙΚΩΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΟΕΩΣ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΙΝΗΣ· & ΓΑΡ ΞΥΜΜΑ ΤΙΝΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΩΩΝ ΣΠΛΑΓΧΝΩΝ ΣΥΝΕΣΤΗ ΤΟ ΓΕΝΗΘΕΝ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΑΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΕΚ ΣΠΕΡΜΑΤΩΝ. Cap. 3. p. 676.

† Sed nec sicut Hierachas lucernam de lucerna, vel lampadem in duas partes. De Trinitate lib. 6. p. 105.

## SECTION III.

*Why only one Son was generated, the Objection of Generation implying Passion considered, and why the Son and Holy Spirit did not generate, &c.*

ANOTHER difficulty that remained with the orthodox, was to account for the Father having no more than *one Son*; and for this different reasons are given, but all of them, as will be imagined, very lame ones. If," says Athanasius, "they suppose "the Father to generate at all, it is better, "and more pious, to say that God is the "Father of only one logos, who is the "fulness of his Godhead, and in whom "are all the treasures of knowledge\*."

Another reason, given by Ruffinus, is more curious, but not more satisfactory. "We believe," says he, "in one only Son of

\* Εἰ γὰρ ὁλως γενῶν αὐτὸν ὑπονοήσιν. βελτιον ἐστὶ καὶ εὐσεβεστερον λεγεῖν ἐνός εἶναι λόγον γεννητὸν τὸν θεόν, ὅς ἐστι τὸ πληρωμα τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ θησαυροὶ πάσης τῆς γνώσεως εἰσι. Oratio Brevis, Opera, vol. 2. p. 25.

“ God, our Lord; for one is generated  
 “ from one, as the splendor of one light,  
 “ and there is one word of the heart. Nei-  
 “ ther does incorporeal generation proceed  
 “ to the plural number, nor does it fall  
 “ into division; where that which is gene-  
 “ rated is never separated from that which  
 “ generates it. It is one, as sense to the  
 “ mind, as a word to the heart, as courage  
 “ to the brave, and wisdom to the wise\*.”  
 He owns, however, that these examples are  
 imperfect.

The following answer of Eusebius tends  
 rather to satisfy us, that it is *better* that  
 there should be but one Son of God than  
 more of them; but for the reason that he  
 alledges, it would have been better still that  
 there had been no Son at all. “ There can  
 “ be only one Son of God, because in more  
 “ there would be diversity, and difference,

\* Unicum hunc esse filium Dei dominum nostrum.  
 Unus enim de uno nascitur: quia et splendor unius est lu-  
 cis, et unum est verbum cordis: nec in numerum plura-  
 lem defluit incorporea generatio, nec in divisionem cadit,  
 ubi qui nascitur nequaquam a generante separatur. Unicus  
 est ut menti sensus, ut cordi verbum, ut forti virtus, ut sa-  
 pientia sapienti. In Symbol, p. 174.



“and an introduction of evil\*.” He also compares this case to the emission of light, and not darkness, from the sun; but then it is obvious to remark that there might have been many beams of light from the same sun.

A much more formidable objection still to this doctrine of paternal generation was, that it implies *passion*, from which it was an incontrovertible maxim, that the divine nature is exempt. It was particularly a maxim with the Platonists, and is expressed by Plato himself †, that generation is always accompanied with passion. “Had it been said,” says Basil, “in the beginning was the Son, and not the logos, it would have given us an idea of passion ‡.” But the answer to this was, that this mysterious generation of an incorporeal being was a very different thing from that

\* Εν γὰρ πλείουσιν εἰρημῇ εἶναι καὶ διαφορὰ καὶ τὴ χειρόνος εἰσαγωγή.  
Demonstratio, lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 147.

† Γίγνεται δὴ παλίων γενεαίς, ἥντι αὐτὶ παῖδος ἢ δῆλον ὡς οὐλοῦν ἀρχὴ λαβῆσαι αὐτὴν, εἰς τὴν δευτέραν ἐλθὴ μέλασθαι. Plato De Legibus, lib. 10. p. 668. Ed Genevæ.

‡ Εἰ δὲ εἶπεν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ υἱός, τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τῷ υἱὲ συνεισηλθὲν αὐτοῖς ἢ περὶ τῆ παῖδος ἐννοία. Hom. 16. Opera, vol. 1. p. 436.

which is so called in corporeal ones. In answer to those who said that God would be diminished if he produced a Son from himself, Origen thought it sufficient to say, "You consider God as corporeal\*." And the same answer was thought to suffice for this objection. G. Nazianzen, in answer to the question, "how generation can be without passion," says, "because God is incorporeal†." Again he says, "the Deity is without passion, though he generates‡."

It should seem from the pains that were taken to answer this objection to the doctrine of generation by the eternal Father, that it was much ridiculed by the profane and heretical wits of that age. They said that "to the act of generation there must be the concurrence of two persons." To

\* Ακολουθεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ σῶμα λεγεῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν, καὶ διηρησθαι τὸν πατέρα, ἀπερ' ἐστὶ δόγματι ἀνθρώπων, μηδ' ὅτι φησὶν ἀοράτον καὶ ἀσώματον πεφανησμένον, ἔσαν κυρίως ἔστιαν· οἱ δὲ ὄντων οἱ ἐν σωματικῷ τόπῳ δώσουσι τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν υἱόν τόπον ἐκ τοῦ ἀμειψαντα σωματικῶς ἐπιδεδηκέναι, τῷ βίῳ, καὶ ἔχει καλῶσαι ἐκ καλῶσεως, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐξείληψαμεν. Comment, vol. 2. p. 306.

† Πῶς ἐν ἑκ ἐμπαθῆς ἡ γενεσις; οἱ ἀσώματος. Or. 35. p. 563.

‡ Απαδες γὰρ τὸ θεῖον, καὶ εἰ γεγενῆκεν. Ibid. Or. 23. p. 422.

this

this Ruffinus gravely answers, "Do not think that God needs any marriage to generate a Son." "My heart," he says, "throws out a good logos, (i. e.) I have from eternity generated a Son from myself; and know, O man, thy heart generates counsel without a wife\*."

"God and man," says Damascenus, "do not generate in the same manner; for God being exempt from time, origin, passion, fluxion, or body, and alone without end, generates without regard to time, origin, passion, or fluxion; so that this incomprehensible generation has neither beginning nor end†." This passage is curiously enlarged upon by Billius, his Com-

\* Ne putares aliquo conjugio indiguiffe Deum, unde filium generaret: eructavit (inquit) cor meum verbum bonum, id est, ex me ipso æternaliter genui filium. Hodie cor tuum, homo, generat consilium: nec quæris uxorem. In Ps. 44. Opera, vol. 2. p. 101.

† Nec eodem modo, Deus et homo gignunt. Deus enim, ut qui temporis, et principii, passionisque, et fluxionis, ac corporis, expers est, solusque fine careat, ita citra tempus quoque, ac principium, et passionem, atque fluxionem, et sine ullo venereo congressu, gignit; ac nec principium nec finem habet incomprehensibilis ipsius generatio. Orthod. Fid. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 260.



mentator\*, The doctrine of the generation of the Son, says Hilary, is much ridiculed, as they say it implies the necessity of a wife to God, &c†.

Another equally troublesome objection to this doctrine of divine generation, was, that there might be no bounds to it. If the Father, they said, can generate a son, the Son also, having the same powers, might generate also, and the Spirit likewise, if he was properly God, and had all the energy of God “If,” says Photius, “the Son be  
“ generated from the Father, and the Spirit  
“ proceed from the Father and the Son,  
“ why should it be peculiar to the Spirit,

\* Gignit igitur assidue pater filium perfectissimum, ut ab æterno genuit, neque ab hujusmodi gignendi officio desiturus est unquam.—Et in hoc manifestum est discrimen generationis hujus divinæ ad humanum quæ finem habet, et tandem ex impotentia cessat, cum ingravescente ætate sterilescunt prius sæcundi parentes: sicut in aliis plerisque sigillatim et certa quadam serie in littera digestis, hæ duæ generationes ab in vicem discrepare dignoscuntur. Orthod. Fid. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 264.

† Nam si filius necesse est ut et sæmina sit, et colloquium sermonis, et compunctio conjugalis verbi et blandimentum, et postremum ad generandum naturalis machinula. Contra Constantium, Opera, p. 328.

“ that

“that another should not proceed from him \*?” To this he suggests no satisfactory answer.

The Macedonian, in Athanasius, does assign a reason, supposing it not to be in itself impossible, but only improper. “Both the Macedonians, and the orthodox,” says he, “suppose that the Spirit could have generated a son, as well as the Father; but that he did not chuse to do it, lest there should be a multiplicity of Gods †.”

Notwithstanding all these objections, the importance of this doctrine of the generation of the Son from the Father was thought to be so great, that it was represented as if the very being of the Father himself depended upon it. “If there had been no son,” says Gregory Nyssen, “there could have been no Father; if no beam, no sun; if no image, no sub-

\* Εἰ δὲ, εἰ ἐκ τῆς πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς γεγενῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκ τῆς πατρὸς καὶ τῆς υἱὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι. τίς ἡ καινολογία τῆς πνευματικῆς, μὴ καὶ ἑτέρον τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκπεπορευεσθαι. Ep. 2. p. 53.

† ΟΡΘ. Εὰν οὐ θέλησῃ ὁ υἱὸς, τῆς αὐτῆς οὐ φύσεως τῷ πατρὶ, δύνασθαι γεννησθαι υἱόν. ΜΑΚ. Ναι δύνασθαι ἀλλ’ ἵνα μὴ θεογονίαν διδάχθωμεν τὸ τοιοῦτον. Con. Mac. Dial. 1. Opera, vol. 2. p. 273.

“ stance.”

“ stance \*.” Athanasius represents this generation as a necessary consequence from the nature of deity. “ If God,” he says, “ is a fountain, and light, and a father, it “ cannot be that a fountain should be dry, “ that light should be without beams, or “ God without logos; lest he should be “ without wisdom, without reason, and “ without light †.”

Cyril of Alexandria also compares the relation of the Son to the Father to that of splendor to the sun, and heat to the fire, both being inseparable, and also coeval. And though the sun, he says, emits splendor, and the fire heat, yet the sun cannot be without its splendor, nor the fire without its heat ‡. But this did not apply to

\* Εἰ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, παύτως ἔδει ὁ πατήρ τῆς· εἰ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀπαυγασμα, ἔδει τοῦ ἀπαυγαζόν τῆς· εἰ ἐκ τῆς οὐ χαρακτῆρ, παύτως ἔδει ἡ ὑποστάσις τῆς. Opera, vol. 2. p. 900.

† Εἰ πηγὴ καὶ φῶς καὶ πατήρ ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, καὶ θεμὶς εἰπεῖν εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ξηρὰν, εἰς τὸ φῶς χωρὶς ἀκτίνων, εἰς τὸν θεὸν χωρὶς λόγου, ἵνα μὴ ἀσοφὸς καὶ ἀλογος καὶ ἀφελγὴς ᾖ ὁ θεός. Epist. ad Serapionem, Opera, vol. 1. p. 167.

‡ Nihil enim aliud nomen fontis nobis significat, quam ut ex quo: filius vero in patre et ex patre est non profluens foras,



the Son, or the spirit, for the Father only was considered as *the fountain* of deity.

It was a question even among the Arians, whether God could be called a Father before the creation of Christ\*.

Farther, it was considered as reproachful to the Father, not to be able to generate a son.

“The heretics,” says Novatian, “reproach the Father, when they say he could not generate a son, who should be God †.” Epi-

foras, sed aut quasi a sole splendor, aut quasi ab igne insita sibi caliditas. In his enim exemplis unum ab una produci, et ambo consempiterna sic esse conspiciamus, ut aliud absque alio nec esse possit, nec naturæ suæ rationem retinere: Quomodo enim erit sol, splendore privatus? vel quomodo erit splendor, nisi sol sit a quo defluat? ignis vero quomodo erit calore carens? vel calor unde manabit, nisi ab igne, aut ab alio forsan non procul a substantiali qualitate ignis disjecto? Sicut igitur quæ ab istis profluunt, simul cum illis sunt unde profluunt, ac semper unde fluant ostendunt: sic in unigenito intelligendum est. In Joan. lib. 1. cap. 1. Opera, vol. 1. p. 600.

\* Γινώσκειν δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀρειανοῖς διαίρεσις, διὰ αὐτὴν τοιαύτην. — ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεπιστεύεται ὁ θεὸς Πατὴρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ λόγια, ζήτημα ἐνεπέσεν εἰς αὐτὴν, εἰ δύναται καὶ πρὸ τῆς υἱογένειας τὸν υἱόν, ὁ θεὸς καλεῖσθαι Πατέρα. Socrat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 23. p. 300.

† Hæc enim contumelia hæreticorum ad ipsum quoque Deum patrem redundabit, si Deus Pater Filium Deum generare non potuit. Cap. 4. p. 32.

phanus

phanus thought it reproachful to the unitarians, that they should say that the Father was ἀγενεός, i. e. unable to generate a son\*.

The orthodox, it must be allowed, took pains enough to do away this reproach; but it was at the risque of exposing their scheme to ridicule, as must have been perceived already. They themselves even proceeded so far as to speak of the labours of the Father in generating the Son. For mention is actually made of this circumstance in a serious hymn of Synesius on this subject; the Son being called κραδιαίον τῆ λοχεύμα, a great birth; Hymn 2. Opera, p. 317. and in Hymn 4. p. 336, there occurs the phrase ὠδινὰ πατρῶς.

Ambrose speaks of the womb of the Father†. What could the heretics, alluded

\* Οὐδὲ γὰρ λέγει μόνον θεόν, διὰ τὸ πηγὴν εἶναι τὸν πατέρα, ἀλλὰ μόνον θεόν, ἀναιρῶν ὅσον τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν τῆ υἱὸς θεοῦ ἰδέα καὶ υποτάσσιν, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας πνεύματος· ἔχων δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα εἶνα θεόν, ἀγονὸν υἱόν, ὡς εἶναι τὰ δύο ἀληθῆ πατέρα καὶ υἱόν· τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀγονόν υἱόν, καὶ ἀναρπάζον τὸν λόγον θεοῦ ζωῆς καὶ σοφίας ἀληθείας. Hær. 65. Opera, vol. 1. p. 609.

† Sicut enim sinus patris spiritalis intelligitur intimum quoddam paternæ charitatis naturæque secretum, in quo semper est filius, ita etiam patris spiritalis et vulva interioris

to in the following passage of Cyril of Alexandria, have said more? "Those who  
 "do not approve of the doctrine, when they  
 "hear of the Father generating from his  
 "womb, understand a real womb, and a  
 "real child-birth \*."

At length the orthodox learned to be less confident, and more modest on this subject; representing it as a *mysterious* thing, and incapable of any explanation. Indeed, Irenæus expressed his sense of the difficulty of this subject at an early period; but it was in opposition to the Gnostics, who made no difficulty at all of the *prolation* of one incorporeal being from another. "If  
 "any person," says he, "ask how is the  
 "Son produced from the Father, we say  
 "that this production, whether it be called  
 "generation, or nuncupation, or adaper-

*rioris arcanum, de quo tanquam ex genetali alio processit  
 filius. Denique diverse legimus nunc vulvam patris, nunc  
 cor ejus, quo verbum eructavit. De Benedictionibus  
 Patriarcharum, Opera, vol. 1. p. 412.*

\* Hæc qui recte dici negant, quum generare patrem ex  
 utero audiant, uterum, et dolores partus intelligunt. In  
 John, cap. 4. Opera, vol. 1. p. 608.

"tion,



“tion, or by whatever other name this  
 “ineffable generation be called, no one  
 “knows; neither Valentinus, nor Mar-  
 “cion, nor Saturninus, nor angels, nor  
 “archangels, nor principalities, nor powers;  
 “but the Father only who generated, and  
 “the Son who was generated\*.”

However, in general, those who followed him complained of no difficulty in this business, as we have seen. Constantine intimates that “the generation of the Son may

\* Quandoquidem et Dominus, ipse filius Dei, ipsum judicii diem et horam concessit scire solum patrem, manifeste dicens: De die autem illa, et hora nemo scit, neque filius, nisi pater solus. Si igitur scientiam dici illius filius non erubuit referre ad patrem, sed dixit quod verum est; neque nos erubescimus, quæ sunt in quæstionibus majora secundum nos, reservare Deo. Nemo enim super magistrum est. Si quis itaque nobis dixerit: quomodo ergo filius prolatus a patre est? dicimus ei, quia prolationem istam, sive generationem, sive nuncupationem sive adaptionem, aut quolibet quis nomine vocaverit generationem ejus inenarrabilem existentem, nemo novit; non Valentinus, non Marcion, neque Saturninus, neque Basilides, neque angeli, neque archangeli, neque principatus, neque potestates, nisi solus qui generavit pater, et qui natus est filius.  
 Lib. 2. cap. 48. p. 176.

“ be

“be understood by those who are beloved  
“of God\*.”

Considering the time in which Novatian wrote, it is rather extraordinary that he should express himself with so much modesty as he does. “The Son,” says he, “is  
“not a mere sound, or voice, but the substance of the power of God prolated;  
“with which sacred and divine nativity,  
“neither the apostles, nor prophets, nor the  
“angels, were acquainted; but the Father  
“and the Son only†.”

We do not wonder at this modesty in later times, when the orthodox had been long teized with objections, to which they had not been able to make any satisfactory answer. Phæbadius says, “the Father generated the Son, but no one knows

\* *Αλλά τη γενεσιν διπλὴν τινὰ νοεῖσθαι χρὴ, τὴν μὲν ἐξ ἀποκυψεύσεως, τὴν συνεγγνωσμένην ταύτῃ. Ἐλεραν δὲ τὴν ἐξ αὐδῆς αὐλίας, ἢς τὸν λόγον θεὸς προνοία θεᾶται, καὶ ἀνδρῶν οὐ ἐκείνῳ φίλος ὑπαρχει.* Oratio, cap. 11. p. 688.

† Qui non in sono percussæ æris, aut tono coactæ de visceribus vocis accipitur; sed in substantia prolata a Deo virtutis agnoscitur; cujus sacræ et divinæ nativitatis arcana nec apostolus didicit, nec prophetes comperit, nec angelus scivit, nec creatura cognovit, Filio soli nota sunt, qui patris secreta cognovit. Cap. 31. p. 120.

“from whence\* ;” meaning, probably, from what part of himself ; for that the Son was generated from the substance of the Father, was never doubted by those who were reckoned orthodox. At present this generation is esteemed to be as great a mystery as any other circumstance relating to the trinity. But this only cuts off all defence of it, and is by no means any answer to the objections made to it.

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#### SECTION IV.

*Whether the Generation of the Son was in Time, and also whether it was a voluntary or involuntary Act of the Father.*

**A**DMITTING this mysterious generation, and supposing all objections removed, there still remain two questions to be considered, viz. at what *time* did this event take place ; and was this generation on the part of the Father *voluntary*, or *involuntary*.

\* Genuit quidem filium Pater, sed nemo scit unde. Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 266.

With



With respect to these questions, all the early Fathers, indeed, all before the council of Nice, say that the Son was generated *in time*, that there was a time when God was without a Son; and that this generation took place immediately before the creation, in order to the Son's being instrumental in it. Of course, they either expressly said; or must have supposed, that the generation of the Son was *voluntary*, so that the Father might have chosen to be without a Son. But in a more advanced state of orthodoxy, after the council of Nice, these opinions were considered as very exceptionable and heretical. The language then was, that God was *always a Father*, in the proper sense of the word, as there had always been a Son; and, though they did not chuse to say that God did any thing *necessarily*, yet they scrupled not to intimate, in less offensive expressions, that it was so in fact. I shall produce a variety of passages from the Fathers in proof of these assertions, and shall dispose them nearly in the order of time, that the above-men-

tioned change in their language and sentiments may be more easily perceived.

Tatian represents the Father as "having been alone before the creation of the world, that every thing was in him, by the power of the logos, and the logos itself; that at his will the logos came out of him, who was a simple being, and became the first production of his Spirit. This logos," he says, "was the *αρχή* to the external world," or the source from which it proceeded\*.

Theophilus says, "John says, In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, shewing that at first God was alone, and the logos in him†."

\* Ο γὰρ δεσποτὴς τῶν ὅλων αὐτὸς ὑπαρχὼν τὰ πάντα ἢ ὑποστάς, καὶ μὲν τὴν μηδεπῶ γεγενημένην ποιῶσιν μόνος ἦν· καὶ οὕτω δὲ πάντα δυνάμεις, ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀορατῶν αὐτὸς ὑποστάς ἦν, σὺν αὐτῷ πάντα. σὺν αὐτῷ γὰρ διὰ λογικῆς δυνάμεως, αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ λόγος, ὅς ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὑπέστη. Δεδημαῖε δὲ τῆς ἀπλόητος αὐτῆς προσηδα λόγος· ὁ δὲ λόγος καὶ καὶ μὲν χωρήσας, ἔργον πρῶτον αὐτὸν τὰ πνευματῶς γινέσθαι. τὸν ἰσμεν τὰ κόσμος τὴν ἀρχὴν. Ad Græcos, sect. 7. p. 20.

† Εξ ὧν Ἰωάννης λέγει· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· δεικνύς ὅτι ἐν πρῶτοις μόνος ἦν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος. Lib. 3. p. 30.

Clemens





“quire about the generation of the logos,” says Hippolitus, “God the Father generated “whom he pleased, and as he pleased\*.” “We believe,” says Athanasius, “that God “generated him spontaneously, and voluntarily †.”

Tertullian expressly says, that “God was “not always a Father or a judge; since he “could not be a Father before he had a “Son, nor a judge before there was sin; “and there was a time when both sin “and the Son, which made God to be a “judge and a Father, were not ‡.” The same is also implied in the following passage, “At first, before the Son made his “appearance, God said, let there be light,

\* Περὶ δὲ λόγου γενέσθιν ζητεῖς, ὅνπερ βεβλήδεις ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ ἐγέννησεν ὡς ἠδελήσεν. In Noetum, sect. 16. Opera, p. 18.

† Αὐτοκρατορὰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν θεὸν καὶ Κυρίον αὐτὸν ἐαυτῶς εἰδότες, ἐκστρώς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδελομένην υἱὸν γεγεννημέναν εὐσεβῶς ὑπελήφραμεν. De Syn. Arim. Opera, vol. 1. p. 898.

‡ Quia et pater Deus est, et judex Deus est, non tamen ideo pater et judex semper. Nam nec pater potuit esse ante filium, nec judex ante delictum, Fuit autem tempus cum et delictum et filius non fuit quod judicem et qui patrem Dominum fecerit. Ad Hermogenem, cap. 3. Opera, p. 234.

“ and

“and there was light; the word itself was  
“immediately the true light; for from  
“that time Christ the word assisted, and  
“administered. God would that things  
“should be, and God made them\*.” But  
the following passage is perhaps still more  
express. “If that,” says he, “which was  
“in God, and came out of God, was not  
“without a beginning, viz. *wisdom*, which  
“was produced from the time that God  
“determined to make the world, much  
“more must things that are *without God*  
“have a beginning†.”

“Christ,” says Novatian, “is always in  
“the Father, lest he should not always be  
“a Father; but the Father must in some

\* Primum quidem, nondum filio apparente, et dixit  
Deus, fiat lux, et facta est: ipse statim sermo lux vera,  
quæ illuminat hominem venientem in hunc mundum, et  
per illum mundialis quoque lux. Exinde autem in ser-  
mone Christo adstante, et administrante, Deus voluerit  
fieri, et Deus fecit. Ad Praxeam, sect. 12. Opera, p. 506.

† Si enim intra dominum quod ex ipso, et in ipso fuit,  
sine initio non fuit, sophia scilicet ipsius, exinde nata et  
condita, ex quo in sensu Dei ad opera mundi disponenda  
cæpit agitari, multo magis, non capit sine initio quicquam  
fuisse quod extra dominum fuerit. Ad Hermogenem, sect.  
18. p. 239.



“sense precede him; for he is prior as  
 “Father. For in some way it is necessary  
 “that he who has no origin precede him  
 “who has an origin. He, therefore, when  
 “the Father would, proceeded out of the  
 “Father, and he who was in the Father,  
 “came out of him\*.” Again, he says,  
 “nothing was before Christ, but the Fa-  
 “ther†;” and in another place, he says,  
 “from whom,” [viz. God] “and when he  
 “chose, the Son, the word, was generated‡.”  
 “God,” says Lactantius, “the framer  
 “and ordainer of all things, before he un-

\* Semper enim in patre; ne pater non semper sit pater: quin et pater illum etiam quadam ratione præcedit, quod necesse est quadammodo prior sit qua pater sit. Quoniam aliquo pacto antecedit necesse est, eum qui habet originem ille qui originem nescit. Hic ergo quando pater voluit, processit ex patre: et qui in patre fuit, processit ex patre. Cap. 31. p. 121.

† Ante quem nihil præter Patrem. Cap. 11. p. 32.

‡ Est ergo Deus pater omnium institutor et creator solus originem nesciens, invisibilis, immensus, immortalis, æternus, unus Deus, cujus neque magnitudini, neque majestati neque virtuti quicquam non dixerim præferri, sed nec comparari potest. Ex quo, quando ipse voluit, sermo filius natus est. Cap. 31. p. 120.

“dertook



“dertook the construction of this world,  
“generated an incorruptible spirit, which  
“he called his Son\*.”

Eusebius, speaking of God intending to form the material world, as well as angels, and the souls of men, says “he thought of  
“making one to govern and direct the  
“whole,” and then he proceeds to describe the generation of the Son, as being “the  
“proper wisdom of the Father†.” In the same work he says, “light is emitted necessarily from the sun; but the Son became the image of the Father from  
“his knowledge and intention, and when

\* Deus igitur machinator, constitutorque rerum, antequam præclarum hoc opus mundi adoriretur, sanctum, incorruptibilem spiritum genuit, quem filium nuncuparet. Instit. lib. 4. sect. 6. p. 364.

† Προλαβὼν τὸ μέλλον, οὗτος θεὸς, τὴν προηγουμένην, συνιδὼν τε, τῶν ἀπαντῶν περὶ γενέσεως ἐν μεγάλῳ σωματι κεφαλὴν δεησομένων.—Βεβηθεὶς γὰρ ὁ θεός, αἰεὶ μόνος, ὡς ἀγαθός, ἀγαθὸν τε πάντι ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγή, τῶν αὐτῆς δεησασσῶν πλείους ἀποφθῆναι κοινῶν· ἀλλ’ οὐ τὸ μέλλον τὴν λογικὴν πάσας προβαλλέσθαι κλισίῃ, ἀσωματὸς τινὰς νοεράς καὶ θείας δυνάμεις, ἀγγέλους τε καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, αὐτὰ τε καὶ πάντα καθάραι πνεύματα, προσεὶ δὲ ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων.—Εἰς τὸν τῆς δημιουργίας ἀπάσης οἰκονομὸν ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ βασιλεῖα τῶν ὅλων προλαβασθαι ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ. Demonstratio, lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 145.

K 4

“ he

“ he pleased, he became the Father of a  
 “ Son\*.”

It was thought by some of the ancients, as Beaufobre says ( Histoire de Manicheisme, vol. 1. p. 264) that angels were made before the visible world, and that Satan was their prince. The Son, therefore, being generated immediately before the visible world, must have been posterior to Satan; and upon this idea, Athanasius, in the dialogue which he is supposed to have had with Arius, observes, that if he worshipped *the first of creatures*, he must worship Satan. That Satan was the first of creatures, was inferred from Job xl. 19. where it is said of *Behemoth* (which was thought to represent Satan) that he is the chief of the works of God, in the Septuagint, ἀρχῇ, the beginning\*.

\* Ἡ μὲν αὐγὴ καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν τῶ φῶτος ἐκλαμπει, κατὰ τι δὲ τῆς ἁπλῆς συμβεβηκός ἀχωρίστων. Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς κατὰ γνῶμην καὶ προαίρεσιν εἰκὼν ὑπεστῇ τῷ πατρί. βεληθεῖς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς γεγονεν υἱὸς πατρὸς. Demonstratio, lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 148.

\* Ὁ θεὸς τῷ ἰσὺ χρηματίζων, εἰως ἐφῇ περὶ τῶ σαλάν, τῶ ἐστὶν ἀρχῇ πλάσματος κυρίως πεποιημένη ἐμπαιζέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων μυστῶν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ποιήμα προσκυνῶν, τὸν σαλάναν προσκυνεῖς, καθὼς παρρησιᾶσιν



We are now advanced as far as the council of Nice, without finding any other opinion than that of the Father generating the Son *voluntarily*, and *in time*; but now we come to a stricter kind of orthodoxy, and between them we find some little inconsistency in what Hilary has advanced on this subject.

In some passages he seems to be clearly of the opinion of those who went before him. Thus he says, "God the Father is the  
 " cause of all, being absolutely without be-  
 " ginning, and alone. The Son was pro-  
 " duced by the Father before all time, be-  
 " ing created and founded before the ages.  
 " He was not before he was generated; but  
 " being generated before time, and before  
 " all things. He alone subsisted from the  
 " Father alone. He is neither eternal nor  
 " co-eternal—for God is before the Son,  
 " as we learned of thee, O Pope," to whom  
 his work is addressed, "preaching in full

παρέστηεν ὁ λόγος. εἰν δὲ σοφισασθαι θέλεις, οἷ τε υἱὸς πρότερον  
 ποιεῖται ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ποιεῖται τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα.  
 Opera, vol. 2. p. 120.

"congre-



“congregation.” Again, he says, “He is  
 “his chief, as his God, since he is before  
 “him\*.” “I do not know,” says he,  
 “when the Son was generated; but it  
 “would be wickedness in me to be igno-  
 “rant that he was generated†.”

That Hilary did express this opinion is  
 evident from Austin’s censuring him for as-  
 cribing eternity to the Father only‡; and

\* Et quidem Deus pater causa est omnium, omnino sine  
 initio solitarius: Filius autem sine tempore editus est a pa-  
 tre, et ante secula creatus et fundatus. Non erat ante-  
 quam nasceretur: sed sine tempore ante omnia natus, solus  
 a solo patre subsistit. Nec enim est æternus, aut co-æter-  
 nus, aut simul non factus cum patre, nec simul cum patre  
 habet esse, sicuti quidam dicunt, aut aliqui duo non nata  
 principia introducentes, sed sicut unio est principium om-  
 nium, sic et Deus ante omnia est. Propter quod et ante  
 filium est, sicut et a te didicimus, papa, media in ecclesia  
 prædicante. Principatur autem ei, utpote Deus ejus, cum  
 sit ante ipsum. Lib. 4. p. 60. 101.

† Nescio enim quando natus sit filius, et nefas est mihi  
 nescire quod natus sit. Lib. 2. p. 27.

‡ Et quia non mediocris auctoritatis in tractatione scrip-  
 turarum, et assertione fidei vir extitit, Hilarius enim hoc  
 in libris suis posuit, horum verborum, id est, patris et ima-  
 ginis et muneris; æternitatis et speciei et usus, abditam  
 scrutatus intelligentiam quantum valeo non eum secutum  
 arbitror

yet in other passages of this work Hilary holds a different language, "Where there is always a Father," he says, "there is always a Son \*." "You think it, O heretic, pious and religious to say that God always was, but that the Father was not always †." Again, he says, "to deny the eternity of Christ is a sin against the Holy Spirit ‡."

This inconsistency in Hilary may perhaps be explained by the following maxims of his, viz. "That is eternal which is before time §." By thus making that to be

arbitror in æternitatis vocabulo, nisi quod pater non habet patrem de quo sit, filius autem de patre est ut sit, atque ut illi co-æternus sit. De Trinitate, lib. 6. cap. 9. Opera, vol. 3. p. 332.

\* Ubi autem semper pater est, semper et filius est. Lib. 12. p. 305.

† Pium tibi ac religiosum, hæretice, existimas, Deum semper quidem, sed non semper patrem confiteri? Ibid. p. 309.

‡ Peccatum autem in spiritum est, Deo virtutis potestatem negare, et Christo substantiam adimere æternitatis. In Matt. Opera, p. 519.

§ Æternum autem est, quicquid tempus excedit. Lib. 12. p. 307.

eternal



eternal which preceded the creation, when time was supposed to commence, he might say that the generation of Christ was from eternity, and yet mean that he had not always been generated.

After this time the opinion of the catholic christians was invariably in favour of a proper *eternal generation*; and in this they were assisted by the genuine principles of Platonism; according to which the creation, and consequently the *nous* or *logos*, its immediate author, was from eternity. Till this time the Platonizing christians had only held so much of Platonism as they had been able to retain consistently with the universally received doctrines of revelation, one of which was supposed to be that there was a time before God made the world, or had a Son. They were, therefore, obliged to hold that there was a time when the Father was *alone*, the Son having no existence, but as the reason of the Father. But as, in the course of this controversy, the personal dignity of Christ advanced, which it uniformly did, they came to think with the Platonists,



Platonists, that the *logos* might have been from eternity, though the *creation* had not. They then argued as the Platonists had done, that the *effect* (and such they never scrupled to call Christ) might always have co-existed with its *cause*. When it was objected that, "if the Son and Spirit be eternal, they must be without cause, like the Father." Gregory Nazianzen replies, "that effects are sometimes cotemporary with their causes, as is the case with the sun and his light\*."

The difficulty about *involuntary generation* was not got over so well as that relating to its taking place before all time.

"The Father," says Austin, "generated the Son neither necessarily, nor voluntarily, because there is no necessity in God. The will cannot be before wisdom, which is the Son." He then asks, "Dost thou, O heretic, say whether the Father existed necessarily, or voluntarily\*."

\* Δηλον δε το αιλιον ως & παντως—πρεσβυτερον των ων εστιν αιλιον, & δε γαρ τε φως ηλιος. Or. 35. Opera, p. 563.

\* Voluntate genuit pater filium, an necessitate? Nec voluntate, nec necessitate: quia necessitas in Deo non est: præire

Chrysostom, after representing *eructation* as an involuntary thing, descants upon God's eructating a good logos. "It was not the stomach," he says, "but the heart; and what did he eructate? not meat or drink, but the good logos, his only begotten †." Cyril of Alexandria seems to say, that Christ, being the will of the Father, it is absurd to ask whether he was generated voluntarily, or involuntarily ‡.

In a creed drawn up by the bishops in the east, and sent to those in the west (in which the Arian doctrines of the creation of the Son out of nothing, and of there ever having been a time when he was not, are condemned, the opinion that the Father did not

præire autem voluntas sapientiam non potest, quod est filius: igitur prius est rationabiliter sapere, quam rationabiliter velle. Dic, inquit, et tu hæretice, Deus pater necessitate est Deus, an voluntate? Quest. 65. Opera, vol. 4. p. 678.

† Ουχ, ο γομαχος ο τα σιλια δεχομενος, αλλ' η καρδια. εξηρευξαιτο γαρ φησιν, η καρδια με. κ' τι ερευξεται. ε σιλον εδε ποιον, αλλα τα συγβενι τη τραπεζη, λογον αγαθον, τον περι τε μονογενεος. In Ps. 44. Opera, vol. 3. p. 207.

‡ De Trinitate, lib. 2. vol. 2. p. 384.

generate



generate the Son of his free will and choice is likewise condemned \*. The same doctrine is asserted in another of those oriental creeds, in which it is said, "If any one shall say that the Son was not generated at the will of the Father, let him be anathema †."

I must not conclude this subject without mentioning the opinion of Origen, viz. that there is no time with respect to God; and, therefore, that it must be impossible to determine when the Son was generated. He says, that "there is no evening or morning with God, but time of the same extent with his eternal life. This is the day in which the Son is generated, the beginning of his birth, and the day of his

\* Τῆς δὲ λεγονίας ἐξ ἑκ οὐλῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας υποστάσεως, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῆς θεῆς, καὶ οἳ τὴν ποτε χρόνος ἢ αἰὼν οἶε μὴ ἦν, ἀλλοθίους οὐδὲν ἡ ἀγία καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. ὁμοίως καὶ τῆς λεγονίας τρεῖς εἶναι θεοὺς, ἢ τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ εἶναι θεόν πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, μὴτε Χριστὸν μὴτε υἱὸν θεοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸν, ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀγεννητὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἢ οἳ εἰ βέλησει ἢ δὲ βέλῃσει ἐγέννησεν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἀγία καὶ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Socratis Hist. lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 99.

† Εἰ τις μὴ θελήσῃ τὸν πατέρα γεγεννησθαι τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγων, ἀναθεμα εἶμι. Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 30. p. 126.

" being



"being founded \*." But it does not appear that any person in his time, or for many years after, supposed that the Son had existed always, except as the reason of the eternal Father, an attribute belonging to him, and not separated from him. Austin also supposes that there was no time before the creation †.

According to Plato himself, time cannot be predicated of what is eternal; so that it cannot be said of God that *he was*, or that *he will be*, but only that *he is* ‡. He also says that time was made with the heavens §.

\* Ω αἰ εἰ το σημερον, εκ ενι γαρ εσπερα δεξ. εγω δε ηγεμαι οτι  
 εδε πρωια, λλ' ο συμπαρακεινων τη αγεννητω κ' αυτω αυτω ζωη, η εως  
 ειπω, χρονος, ημερα εστιν αυτω σημερον, εν η γεγεννηται ο υιος. Αρχης  
 γενεσεως αυτω εως εκ ευρισκομενης, ως εδε της ημερας. Comment.  
 vol. 2. p. 31.

† Quæ tempora fuissent quæ abs te non condita essent.  
 Confess. Q. 11. vol. 1. p. 190.

‡ Ταυτα δε παντα μερος χρονου, κ' το, τ' ην, το τ' εσαι, χρονου γε-  
 νοτος ειδη, φεροντες λανθανομεν επι την αυδιον υσιαν, εκ οφθως. λεγομεν  
 γαρ δι ως ην, εστι τε κ' εσαι. τη δε το εστι μονον, καλα τον αληθη λογον,  
 προσηκει. το δε ην, το, τ' εσαι, περι την εν χρονωγενεσιν ισταν ωρεπει  
 λεγεσθαι. Timæus, p. 711. Ad Genevæ.

§ Χρονος δ' εν μετ' ηραν γεγονεν, ινα αμα γεννηθεις, αμα κ' λυθω-  
 σιν, αν ποτε λυσις τις αυτων γενηται. Ibid. p. 529.

## CHAPTER IV.

*The Inferiority of the Son to the Father, shown to have been the Doctrine of all the Antenicene Fathers.*

IT is remarkable that, though all the Antenicene Fathers were of opinion that the Son derived his being from the *substance of the Father*, and before his generation was even his own proper *wisdom, power, and all his other essential attributes*, they uniformly asserted, that he was *inferior to the Father*, and subject to him. This was certainly unnatural, and a real inconsistency. For, admitting the Son to have been what they represented him, he was, to say the least, fully equal to every thing that could constitute the Father. Indeed, taking from the Father all that they say had constituted the Son, there was nothing of any value left to belong to himself.

Admitting their absurd notion, that, after the generation of such a Son (to constitute whom, all his own essential attributes,



in their fullest extent, contributed) the Father was not really diminished, but left in all respects the same as if no such communication of his powers had been made; yet as he could not be greater, or more excellent than he had been, and the Son had all the perfections that the Father had ever been possessed of, these writers would naturally have been led to maintain the perfect equality of the Son to the Father, as they actually did some time afterwards. Their not doing this, therefore, for some centuries, clearly discovers that these philosophizing christians were in very different situations at the two different times, with respect to their fellow christians, and the opinions that were generally entertained by them.

This remarkable fact cannot, I think, be accounted for, but upon the supposition, that, while they hesitated to pursue their principle to its proper extent, they were restrained by the fear of *popular prejudices*, which would not have borne the doctrine of the equality of the Son to the Father. Or, notwithstanding the tendency of the new doctrine, the force of habit was such, that they



they could not bring themselves at once to change the language, and the ideas to which they and their ancestors had been long accustomed. Now the circumstance which so long restrained the natural operation of this new doctrine of the generation of the Son from the substance of the Father, and of his very *being* consisting of the essential attributes of the Father, could be nothing else but the established doctrine of *one God*, of unrivalled majesty and power, whose servant Christ, as well as all the preceding prophets, had always been considered. It is evident, from numberless passages in their writings, that they were afraid lest the new doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ should give offence to the common people, who were for a long time generally unitarians. This hypothesis only can well account for these writers so fully and so frequently expressing their belief of the inferiority of the Son to the Father.

As, in this view, the language they hold on this subject is an article of considerable importance, shewing us their real situation

and feelings, I shall produce a considerable number of passages from the Antenicene Fathers, in which their opinion of the inferiority of the Son to the Father is clearly expressed, and it would have been very easy to have doubled the number.

I lay but little stress on any passage in the writings of those who are called *apostolical Fathers*, or the epistles of Ignatius, for reasons that have been given in my Introduction; but as the composition of them, or the interpolations in them, were made in a pretty early age, I shall select a few of them. They shew that the idea of the inferiority of the Son to the Father was not given up when those works were composed.

Hermas, speaking of a vineyard let out by its owner, who had many servants, to his son, when he took a journey, says, "The owner of the estate represents the Father, the creator of all things; his servant, the son of God; and the vineyard, which he keeps, the people." And, giving a reason why the son is placed in a servile condition, he says, "it is not a service,



“service, but a place of great power; for  
 “that he is the Lord of the people, having  
 “received all power from the Father\*.”

This is not the manner in which an orthodox christian would have expressed himself on the subject.

Ignatius commends the Ephesians for their harmony; saying, that “they were  
 “so joined, as the church to Christ, and  
 “Christ to the Father; that every thing  
 “might be in perfect harmony†.” “Be  
 “subject to the bishop, and to one another,  
 “as Jesus Christ was to the Father (ac-  
 “cording to the flesh) and the apostles to  
 “Christ, the Father, and the Spirit‡. Be

\* Dominus autem fundi demonstratur esse is qui creavit cuncta et consummavit, et virtutem illis dedit, servus vero illi filius dei est. Vineam autem populus est, quem servat ipse — In servili conditione non ponitur filius dei, sed in magna potestate et imperio — Vides igitur esse dominum populi, accepta a patre suo omni potestate. Lib. 3. cap. 5, 6. p. 105.

† Ποσω μαλλον υμεις μακαριζω τις συνεκραμενης ελως, ως εκκλησια Ιησους Χριστου, η ο Ιησους Χριστος τω πατρι, να πασα εν ενότητι η. Ad Ep. sect. 5. p. 13.

‡ Τπολειψη τω επισκοπω η αδελφοις, ως Ιησους Χριστος τω πατρι καλα σαρκος, η οι αποστολοι τω Χριστω η τω πατρι η τω πνευματι, να ενωσις η σαρκικη τε η πνευματικη. Ad Mag. sect. 13. p. 21.



“ ye imitators of Christ, as he is of the Fa-  
 “ ther \*. As our Lord did nothing with-  
 “ out the Father, being united to him;  
 “ neither by himself, nor by his apostles,  
 “ so do you nothing without the bishop,  
 “ and the elders †.” This language favours  
 of primitive antiquity, and makes me in-  
 clined to think that the epistles are not  
 altogether forged, but rather interpolated.  
 At least they must have been forged in an  
 early age.

Justin Martyr, who insists so much on  
 the pre-existence and divinity of Christ,  
 speaking of the logos, says, “ than whom  
 “ we know no prince more kingly, and  
 “ more righteous, after the God who gene-  
 “ rated him †.” Speaking of the God in  
 heaven, and the God upon earth, who con-  
 versed with Abraham, he says, “ The for-  
 “ mer is the Lord of that Lord who was

\* Μιμούσαι γινώσκει Ἰησοῦ χρίστου, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Ad  
 Philad. sect 7. p. 32.

† Ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ τὸ πατρὸς ἔθεν ἐκποίησται, ἠνωμένος αὐτῷ, εἴτε  
 δι' αὐτοῦ, εἴτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων· εἴως μὴδε ὑμεῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖτε, καὶ  
 τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μὴδεν πράσσετε. Ad Mag. sect. 7. p. 19.

‡ Οὐ βασιλευσίων καὶ δικαιοσίων ἀρχόντες, μέγα τῶν γεννησάντων θεῶν,  
 ῥήματα αὐδαμεν οὐκ αἶμα. Apol. I. p. 17.

“ upon

“ upon earth, as his Father, and God, the  
 “ cause of his existence, and of his being  
 “ powerful, and Lord, and God \*.” Nei-  
 “ ther Abraham, Isaac, nor Jacob,” he says,  
 “ nor any man, ever saw the Father, and  
 “ ineffable Lord of all, and of Christ him-  
 “ self; but he who by his will was God,  
 “ his Son, and an angel, from his being sub-  
 “ servient to his will, who at his pleasure  
 “ was made a man, from the virgin, who  
 “ also in the form of fire appeared to Moses  
 “ in the bush †.”

“ I will endeavour to convince you who  
 “ know the scriptures, that there is another  
 “ who is called God and Lord, besides him  
 “ that made all things, who is also called  
 “ an angel, on account of his delivering to  
 “ man whatever he who is the maker of all

\* Ος κ' ἐπὶ γῆς κυρίως κυριὸς ἔστιν, ὡς πατήρ κ' θεός, αὐτός τε αὐτῶν τε εἶναι, κ' δυνατὸν, κ' κυρίον, κ' θεόν. Dial. p. 413.

\* Οὐτε ἂν Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε Ἰσαὰκ, ὅτε Ἰακώβ, ὅτε αὐτὸς ἀνθρώπων εἶδε τον πατέρα κ' ἀρρητόν κυρίον των πάντων ἀπλῶς, κ' αὐτὸς τε χρίσας, ἀλλ' ἐκείνον τον κατὰ βεβλήν την ἐκείνῃ κ' θεόν ὄντα, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, κ' ἀγγέλον ἐκ τῆς υπηρετείας τῆς γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ, οὐ κ' ἀνθρώπον γεννηθέντα διὰ τῆς παρθενίας βεβηλῆνται, ὡς κ' πῦρ ποτε γέγονε τῇ πρὸς Μωσῆα ομιλίᾳ τῇ ἐκ τῆς βουτῆς. Dial. p. 411.



“ things, and above whom there is no other  
 “ God, wills that he should deliver \*.”

Though Christ was supposed by this writer to have made all things, yet there was a sense in which the phrase, *maker of all things* (ο ποιητης των παντων) was thought to be applicable to the Father only. “ I will  
 “ endeavour,” says he, “ to shew that he  
 “ who appeared to Abraham, Jacob, and  
 “ Moses, and who is called God, is diffe-  
 “ rent from the God that made all things,  
 “ &c.—I say that he never did any thing  
 “ but what that God who made all things,  
 “ and above whom there is no god, willed  
 “ that he should do or say †.” With a

\* Α λεγω πειρασομαι υμας πεισαι, νοησαντας τας γραφας, οτι ετι  
 χ' λεγεται θεος χ' χυρι⊕ ετερ⊕ [υπερ] τον ποιητην των ολων, ος χ'  
 αγγελ⊕ καλειται, δια το αγγελλειν τοις ανθρωποις οσαπερ βλεπεται αυ-  
 τοις αγγειλαι ο των ολων ποιητης, υπερ ον αλλ⊕ θεος εκ ετι. It is ac-  
 knowledged that this υπερ should be παρα, or υπο. Dial. I.  
 p. 249.

† Πειρασομαι πεισαι υμας οτι εις ο τε τω Αβρααμ χ' τω Ιακωβ χ' τω  
 Μωσει ωφθαι λεγομεν⊕ χ' γεγραμμενος θεος ειρος ετι τε τα παντα  
 ποιησαντ⊕ δε⊕ αριθμω λεγω αλλ' ε τη γνωμη. Ουδεν γαρ φημι  
 αυτον πεπραχεναι ποτε η απερ αυτος ο τον κοσμον ποιησας. υπερ ον  
 αλλος εκ ετι θεος, βεβυληται, και πραξαι και ομιλησαι. Dial. I.  
 p. 252.

view



view to this Origen calls Christ the *immediate maker* of the world\*.

Athenagoras did not consider Christ as *the one God*, but one who was employed by the one God. “Our doctrine,” he says, “teaches us, that there is one God, the maker of all things—who made all things by his own *logos* †.”

Clemens Alexandrinus calls the *logos* “the image of God, the legitimate son of his mind; a light, the copy of the light, and man the image of the *logos* ‡.” He calls the Father the only true God. Alluding to the heathen mysteries, he says, “Be thou initiated, and join the chorus with the angels about him who is the unbegotten and immortal, the only true God, God the *logos* joining with us, he being always the one Jesus, the great high priest of the one God, and his

\* Τον προσεχώς δημιουργόν. *Contra Celsum*, lib. 6. p. 317.

† Επει-δε ο λογος ημων ενα θεον αγει τον τεδε τε παντος ποιητην, αυτον μεν & γενομενον (οτι το ον & γινεσθαι αλλα το μη ον) παντα δε δια τε πατερ αυτης λογεσ πεποιηκωτα. *Apol.* p. 40.

‡ Η μεν γαρ τε θεσ ειπων, ο λογος αυτης. Και υιος τε γε γνησιος; ο θεος λογος, φωτος αρχελευτην φως. Ειπων δε τε λογεσ, ο ανθρωπος.

*Ad Gentes*, p. 62.

“Father;

“ Father ; he prays for men, and gives  
 “ laws to men \*.” He speaks of Christ  
 as “ subservient to his Father’s will, and  
 “ only called God by way of figure †.  
 “ The mediator,” he says, “ performs the  
 “ will of the Father. The logos is the  
 “ mediator, being common to both, the  
 “ seal of God, and the Saviour of men.  
 “ Of the one he is the servant, but our  
 “ instructor ‡.” “ There is one unbe-  
 “ gotten, almighty Father, and one first  
 “ begotten, by whom all things were, and  
 “ without whom nothing was made. For  
 “ one is truly God, who made the *αρχη* [the  
 “ origin] of all things, meaning his first  
 “ begotten Son ||.” And yet this writer

\* *Εἰ βέλαι, καὶ σὺ μὲν, καὶ χορευσεις μετ’ ἀγγέλων ἀμφὶ τοῦ ἀγενήτου  
 καὶ ἀνωλεθροῦ καὶ μονοῦ οὐτως θεοῦ, συνημενέῃς ἡμῖν τε δεῦς λόγος. Αἰδὶος  
 αἰὼς, Ἰησοῦς εἰς, ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς δεῦς τε ἐνός τε αὐτῆς καὶ πατρός, ὑπὲρ  
 ἀνθρώπων εὐχέλαι, καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐγκλενεύλαι. Ad Gentes, p. 74.*

† Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ σχηματὶ, ἀχραντὸς, πατρικῶν θελημάτων διακονὸς,  
 λόγος, θεός, ὁ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν τε πατρός, σὺν καὶ τῷ σχηματὶ θεός.  
*Ibid.* p. 80.

‡ Καὶ τὸ θελημα τοῦ πατρός ὁ μεσίτης ἐκτελεῖ. μεσίτης γὰρ ὁ λόγος,  
 ὁ κοινὸς ἀμφοῖν. Θεὸν μὲν μίος, πῶλην δὲ ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ τὴν μὲν δια-  
 κονὸς, ἡμῶν δὲ, παιδαγωγός. *Pædag. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 215.*

|| Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἀγενήτῳ, παλαιοκρατορ θεός· ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ προ-  
 γενηθέντι, διὰ τὰ πάντα ἐγενετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγενετο ἕδε ἐν, εἰς γὰρ  
 τὴν



had represented the logos as equal to God.  
See p. 131.

Tertullian considers "the monarchy of  
" God, as not infringed by being com-  
" mitted to the Son, especially as it is not  
" infringed by being committed to innu-  
" merable angels, who are said to be sub-  
" servient to the commands of God \*."  
" How," says he, " do I destroy the mo-  
" narchy, who suppose the Son derived  
" from the substance of the Father, who  
" receives all power from the Father, and

τω οτι εστι ο θεος, ος αρχην των απαντων εποιησεν, μνησθαι του προ-  
τογονου υιου. Strom. lib. 6. p. 644.

\* Atqui nullam dico dominationem ita unius sui esse,  
ita singularem, ita monarchiam, ut non etiam per alias  
proximas personas administretur, quas ipsa prospexerit offi-  
ciales sibi. Si vero et filius fuerit ei, cujus monarchia sit,  
non statim dividi eam, et monarchiam esse desinere, si par-  
ticeps ejus adsumatur et filius; sed proinde illius esse prin-  
cipaliter a quo communicatur in filium; et dum illius est,  
proinde monarchiam esse, quæ a duobus tam unicis conti-  
netur. Igitur si et monarchia divina per tot legiones et  
exercitus angelorum administratur, sicut scriptum est, mil-  
lies millia adstabant ei, et millies centena millia appare-  
bant ei: nec ideo unius esse desit, ut desinat monarchia  
esse, quia per tanta millia virtutum procuratur. Ad Prax-  
eam, sect. 3. p. 502.

" does



“ does nothing without the Father’s will ;  
 “ he being a servant to his Father \*.” He  
 says that “ Paul is speaking of the Father  
 “ only, when he speaks of *him whom no*  
 “ *man has seen, or can see, and as the king*  
 “ *eternal, immortal, and invisible, the only*  
 “ *God †.*” “ According to the œconomy  
 “ of the gospel, the Father chose that the  
 “ Son should be on earth, and himself  
 “ in heaven ; wherefore the Son himself,  
 “ looking upwards, prayed to the Father,  
 “ and teaches us to pray, saying, *Our Fa-*  
 “ *ther, who art in heaven ‡.*”

\* Ceterum, qui filium non aliunde deduco, sed de substantia patris, nihil facientem sine patris voluntate, omnem a patre consecutum potestatem, quomodo possum de fide destruere monarchiam, quam a patre filio traditam in filio servo. Ad Praxeam, sect. 3. p. 502.

† De patre autem ad Timotheum, quem nemo vidit hominum, sed nec videre potest. Exaggerans amplius, qui solus habet immortalitatem ; et lucem habitat inaccessibilem. De quo et supra dixerat, regi autem seculorum, immortalis, invisibilis, soli Deo, Ad Praxeam, sect. 15. p. 509.

‡ Tamen in ipsa œconomia, pater voluit filium in terris haberi, se vero in cœlis ; quo et ipse filius suspiciens, et prabat et postulabat a patre, quo et nos erectos docebat orare ; pater noster qui es in cœlis, Ibid. sect. 23. p.

Origen says that "God is the *αρχη* (the "origin) to Christ, as Christ is the *αρχη* to "those things which were made in the "image of God\*." "Both the Father "and the Son," he says, "are fountains; "the Father of divinity, the Son of lo- "gos†." "The Father only is the good, "and the Saviour, as he is the image of "the invisible God, so he is the image "of his goodness‡." "The logos did "whatever the Father ordered§." "The "Saviour, and the Holy Spirit," he says, "are more excelled by the Father, than he "and the Holy Spirit excel other things, " &c. and he, though excelling such and "such great things (viz. thrones, prin- "cipalities, and powers) in essence and "office, and power and godhead (for he is " *λογος εμφανος* and wisdom) is by no means

\* *Αρχη αυτη ο πατηρ εστιν · ομοιως δε και χριστος αρχη των κατα εικονα γενομενων θεων.* Comment. vol. 2. p. 18.

† *Αμφοτερα γαρ πηγης εχει χωραν, ο μεν πατηρ, δεοτη- τος, ο δε υιος, λογος.* Ibid. p. 47.

‡ *Και ο σωτηρ, δε, ως εστιν εικων τε θεου τε αορατου, κτως και της αγαθοτητος αυτου εικων.* Vol. 1. p. 377.

§ *Προσαχθεντα δε τον λογον πεποινηκεναι παντα οσα ο πατηρ αυτω ενετειλατο.* Ad Celsum, lib. 2. p. 63.



“to be compared with the Father\*.”  
 Speaking of the difference between the propositions *δια* and *υπό*, the former denoting *instrumentality*, and the latter proper *causality*, he says, “If all things were made  
 “(*δια*) by the *logos* (i. e. as the instrument) they were not made by (*υπό*) the  
 “*logos* (i. e. as the cause) but by one  
 “who is better and greater than the *logos*;  
 “and who can that be but the Father†?”

Alluding to the unitarians, with whom, it is plain, he wished to stand on good terms, he says, “We may by this means  
 “solve the doubts which terrify many men,  
 “who pretend to great piety, and who are  
 “afraid of making two gods, and through  
 “this fall into vain and impious opinions;

\* Ου συγκρίσει, ἀλλ' ὑπερβαλλουσα ὑπεροχὴν φάμεν τὸν  
 σωτήρα, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὑπερεχόμενον τοσαύτῳ ἢ  
 πλεον ἀπὸ τε πατρὸς ὅσα ὑπερέχει αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα  
 τῶν λοιπῶν, καὶ τῶν τυχοῦσιν. Ἀλλ' ὁμῶς τῶν τοσαύτων καὶ  
 τηλικούτων ὑπερέχων ἐστὶν, καὶ πρὸς εἰς, καὶ δύναμις, καὶ  
 δεισιδύσει (ἐμφυχὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ λόγος) καὶ σοφία, καὶ συγκρίσεται  
 κατ' ἐδὲν τῷ πατρί. Comment. vol. 2. p. 218.

† Οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ εἰδαδὲ εἰ πάντα *δια* τὸν λόγον ἐγένετο,  
 καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ κρίσεως καὶ μείζονος πα-  
 τρὸς τὸν λόγον. τίς δ' ἂν ἀλλοῦ ἐλθὲ τυγχάνῃ ἢ ὁ πατήρ. In  
 Johan. Comment. vol. 2. p. 56.

“denying



“ denying that the nature of the Son is dif-  
 “ ferent from that of the Father, and who  
 “ acknowledge that he is God in name  
 “ only ; or denying the divinity of the  
 “ Son, and then maintaining that his na-  
 “ ture and essence is different from that of  
 “ the Father. For we must tell them, that  
 “ he who is *God of himself*, is God with  
 “ the article ; but that all who are not God  
 “ of themselves, who are divine by becom-  
 “ ing partakers of his divinity, are God  
 “ without the article, and severally, among  
 “ whom especially is the first-born of all  
 “ the creatures \*.”

\* Και το πολλὰς φιλοθεῖς εἶναι εὐχομένους ταρασσόν, εὐλα-  
 βόμενοι δύο ἀναγορεύσαι θεὸς, καὶ παρὰ τὸ περιττὴν ὄντας  
 ψευδεῖς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς δογμασιν, ἢ οἱ ἀρνεύμενοι ἰδιοῦντα υἱὸς  
 εἶναι παρὰ τὴν τὴν πατρὸς, ὁμολογούντας θεὸν εἶναι τὸν μετὰ  
 ὀνομαστος παρὰ αὐτοῖς υἱὸν προσαγορευόμενον· ἢ ἀρνεύμενοι τὴν  
 θεοῦντα τὴν υἱὸς τῆς πατρὸς, ἀπὸ αὐτῆς τὴν ἰδιοῦντα, καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ  
 κατὰ περιγραφὴν τυγχάνουσιν εἶναι τὴν πατρὸς, ἐντεῦθεν κτε-  
 δαι δύναται· λεκτέον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅτι τότε μὲν αὐτοθεὸς ὁ  
 θεὸς ἐστὶ, διότι καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ φησὶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα  
 εὐχῇ· ἵνα γινώσκωσι σὲ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν· παρὰ δὲ τὸ  
 παρὰ τὸ αὐτοθεὸς μετόχῃ τῆς αὐτῆς θεότητος θεοποιούμενον,  
 ἐκ οὗ θεός, ἀλλὰ θεὸς κυριώτερον ἀνὴρ λέγοιτο ὡς πατὴρ ὁ πρωτο-  
 τοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ἀπὸ πρώτος τῶ πρὸς τὸν θεόν εἶναι.  
 Comment. vol. 2. p. 47.

The article, he says, is added when the word God signifies the unbegotten cause of all things\*. This observation of Origen will be seen to have been borrowed from Philo, and it is void of all foundation.

The writer of a book ascribed to Origen, expresses his opinion of the inferiority of the Son to the Father in a peculiarly strong manner, when he speaks of the propriety of praying to the Father only. For he represents it as the custom of christians not to pray to any other than "the principal god, not to his servants the prophets, or to Christ, or to the apostles†.

Origen speaks of "no christian praying to any other than the God who is over

It is evident from this passage that the ancient unitarians would say, that if Christ be God, it is only in name, and that his divinity is the same with that of the Father; or else that he has no divinity at all, and is of a nature entirely different from the Father.

\* Τιθησι μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀρδρον, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς ὀνομασία ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγέννητῃ τασσεται τῶν ὅλων αἰτίῃ. Orig. in Joh. vol. 2. p. 46.

† Ἰν ὡς πρῶτον προσκυνῆθῃ θεός· ὁ πᾶρ τῶ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι-  
ραποῦντι καὶ ταῖς προφηταῖς· καὶ τῷ πληρῶματι νομῶ χρίστω·  
καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ, ἐκ 951 πατρίαν. Contra Marcioni-  
tas, p. 212.

"all,



“all, by our Saviour, the Son of God  
 “who is the logos, the wisdom, and the  
 “truth\*.” “If we know,” says he, “what  
 “prayer is, we must not pray to any created  
 “being, not to Christ himself, but only  
 “to God the Father of all, to whom our  
 “Saviour himself prayed†.” “We are  
 “not to pray to a brother, who has the  
 “same common father with ourselves;  
 “Jesus himself saying, that we must pray  
 “to the Father through him.—In this we  
 “are all agreed, and are not divided about  
 “the method of prayer; but should we not  
 “be divided, if some prayed to the Father,  
 “and some to the Son. Common peo-  
 “ple,” he says “through a great mistake,  
 “and want of distinguishing, prayed to

\* Οὐκ εἶπεν ἄλλω θάρρειν εὐχεσθαι, ἢ τῷ πρὸς πάντα  
 διαρκέει πᾶσι θεῷ, διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν οὐκ εἰδὼς θεῶν ὡς  
 εἰν λόγος, καὶ σοφία, καὶ ἀληθεία, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα λεγέσθαι  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ αἱ τῶν προφητῶν τὴν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν Ἰησοῦ  
 γραφαί. *Ad Celsum*, lib. 5. p. 233.

† Ἐὰν δὲ ἀκῶμεν ὅτι ποτὲ εἰς προσευχὴν, μηποτέ ἐδῶν  
 τῶν γεννητῶν προσευκτέον εἶν, ἐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ· ἀλλὰ  
 μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὅλων καὶ πατρὶ, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν  
 προσευχέτο ὡς προπαρεδέμεθα. *De Oratione*, p. 48.



“ the Son either with the Father, or with-  
“ out the Father†.”

Here I cannot help repeating what I ob-  
served before, that, if Christ had been what  
Origen, among others, supposed him to  
have been, viz. *the operative faculties of*  
*the Father*, and the very being who made  
the world, and who governed it, he could  
not but have been considered as the proper  
object of prayer, even in preference to the  
Father himself; because, on that principle,  
we should have had more to do with the Son  
than with the Father, being more imme-  
diately dependent upon him; so that it  
could not have given any umbrage to the  
Father, if all our addressees had been made  
to the Son. The same reason, whatever

\* Αδελφω δε προσευχεσθαι τας κατηξιωμενες ενος αυτου πατρος κτ  
εστιν ευλογον. μονω γαρ τω πατρι μετ' εμω κ' δι' εμω αναπεμπειον εστιν  
υμιν προσευχην. ταυτη εν λεγοντι. ακουοντες Ιησω, τω θεω δι' αυτου ευ-  
χωμεθα, το αυτω λεγοντες παντες, μηδε περι της τροπης της ευχης σχι-  
ζομενοι. η εχι σχιζομεθα, εαν οι μεν τω πατρι, οι δε τω υιω ευχωμεθα;  
ιδιωτων αμαρτιων καλα ποσδον ανεραυοιησα δια το αβασσανισον κ' ανεξελ-  
σον αμαρτανωτων των προσευχομενων τω υιω, ειτε μελα τω πατρι, ειτε  
χωρις τω πατρι. De Oratione, p. 51.

it

it was, that made it proper for Christ to make and govern the world, in preference to the Father, would make it equally proper that he should be the object of prayer in preference to the Father. Since, therefore, it is acknowledged that, in early times, Christ was not the object of prayer, even to those who believed him to be their creator and governor, we may be assured that he was not generally considered in that light; and especially that he had not been so considered from the beginning; for then a different practice would necessarily have been established.

In the next place, I shall produce some passages from Novatian, whose orthodoxy, with respect to the doctrine of the trinity, was never questioned. He says, "the Father only is the only good God\*." "The rule of truth teaches us to believe, "after the Father, in the Son of God, "Christ Jesus, our Lord God, but the "Son of God, of that God who is one,

\* Quem solum merito bonum pronunciat dominus.  
Cap. 4. p. 11.



"and alone, the maker of all things\*."  
 "Though he was in the form of God, he  
 "did not attempt the robbery of being equal  
 "with God. For though he knew that he  
 "was God of God the Father, he never  
 "compared himself with God the Father;  
 "remembering that he was of the Fa-  
 "ther, and that he had what the Fa-  
 "ther gave him†." "The Son is less  
 "than the Father, because he is sanctified  
 "by him‡." "God the Father is the  
 "maker and creator of all, who alone has  
 "no origin, invisible, immense, immortal,  
 "eternal, the one God, to whose greatness,

\* Eadem regula veritatis docet nos credere post patrem  
 etiam in filium Dei Christum Jesum dominum Deum nos-  
 trum, sed Dei filium, hujus Dei qui et unus et solus est,  
 conditor scilicet rerum omnium. Cap. 9. p. 26.

† Hic ergo quamvis esset in forma Dei, non est rapi-  
 nam arbitratus aequalem se Deo esse. Quamvis enim se ex  
 Deo patre Deum esse meminisset; nunquam se Deo patri  
 aut comparavit aut contulit, memor se esse ex suo patre,  
 et hoc ipsum quod est habere se, quia pater dedisset. Cap.  
 22. p. 84.

‡ Dum ergo accipit sanctificationem a patre, minor  
 patre est. Cap. 27. p. 102.

"majesty,

“majesty, and power, nothing can be pre-  
 “ferred or compared \*.” “If Christ had  
 “been uncreated, and likewise unbegotten,  
 “there would have been two unbegotten,  
 “and therefore two gods †.” “The Son  
 “does nothing of his own pleasure, nor does  
 “he come of himself; but in all things  
 “obeys his Father’s commands ‡.” Al-  
 luding to the Sabellians, he says, that “very  
 “many of the heretics, being moved with  
 “the greatness and truth of his divinity,  
 “extending his honours too far, have dared  
 “to advance that he is not the Son, but

\* Est ergo Deus pater omnium institutor et creator, solus originem nesciens, invisibilis, immensus, immortalis, æternus, unus Deus, cujus neque magnitudini neque majestati neque virtuti quicquam non dixerim præferri, sed nec comparari potest. Cap. 31. p. 119.

† Si enim natus non fuisset; innatus comparatus cum eo qui esset innatus, æquatione in utroque offensa duos faceret innatos, et ideo duos faceret deos: si non genitus esset; collatus cum eo qui genitus non esset, et æquales inventi, duos deos merito reddidissent non geniti: atque ideo duos Christus reddidisset deos. Cap. 31. p. 122.

‡ Filius autem nihil ex arbitrio suo gerit, nec ex consilio suo facit, nec a se venit, sed imperiis paternis omnibus et præceptis obedit. Cap. 31. p. 123.



“God the Father himself\*.” This, he says, afterwards is to acknowledge the divinity of Christ in too boundless and unrestrained a manner †.

Arnobius says, that “the omnipotent, and “only God, sent Christ ‡.” And again, “Christ, a God, spake by the order of “the principal God §.”

“The Son,” says Lactantius, “patiently “obeys the will of the Father, and does “nothing but what the Father wills or orders ||.” “He approved his fidelity to

\* Usque adeo hunc manifestum est in scripturis esse Deum tradi, ut plerique hæreticorum, divinitatis ipsius magnitudine et veritate commoti, ultra modum extendentes honores ejus, ausissent non filium, sed ipsum Deum patrem promere vel putare. Cap. 23. p. 87.

† Effrenatius et effusus in Christo divinitatem confiteri. Ibid.

‡ Tum demum emisit Christum, Deus omnipotens, Deus solus. Lib. 2. p. 57.

§ Deus inquam Christus (hoc enim sæpe dicendum est ut infidelium diffiliat et dirumpatur auditus) Dei principis jussione loquens. Ibid. p. 50.

|| Quia voluntati patris fideliter paret, nec unquam faciat aut fecerit, nisi quod pater aut voluit, aut jussit. Lib. 4. sect. 29. p. 447.

“God;

" God: for he taught, that there is one  
 " God, and that he only ought to be wor-  
 " shipped: nor did he ever say that he was  
 " God. For he would not have preserved  
 " his allegiance, if, being sent to take away  
 " a multiplicity of Gods, and to preach *one*  
 " God, he had brought in another, besides  
 " that one. This would not have been to  
 " be the herald of one God, or him who  
 " sent him, but have been doing his own  
 " business, and separating himself from him  
 " whom he came to honour. Wherefore,  
 " because he was so faithful, because he as-  
 " sumed nothing to himself, that he might  
 " fulfil the commands of him who sent  
 " him, he received the dignity of perpe-  
 " tual priest, the honour of supreme king,  
 " the power of a judge, and the title of  
 " God\*."

\* Ille vero exhibuit Deo fidem. Docuit enim quod  
 unus Deus sit, cumque solum coli oportere: nec unquam  
 se ipse Deum dixit: quia non servasset fidem; si missus,  
 ut deos tolleret, et unum assereret; induceret alium, præ-  
 ter unum. Hoc erat, non de uno Deo facere præconium;  
 nec ejus, qui miserat, sed suum proprium negotium gerere;  
 ac se ab eo, quem illustratum venerat, separare. Propterea  
 quia tam fidelis extitit, quia sibi nihil prorsus assumpsit, ut



The same language was held by Eusebius, who wrote about the time of the council of Nice. "Christ," he says, "the only begotten Son of God, and the first-born of every creature, teaches us to call his Father the only true God, and commands us to worship him only \*." "There is one God, and the only begotten comes out of him †." "Christ being neither the supreme God, nor an angel, is of a middle nature, between them; and being neither the supreme God, nor a man, but the mediator, is in the middle between them, the only begotten Son of God ‡." He has the same sentiment in

mandata mittentis impleret: et sacerdotis perpetui dignitatum, et regis summi honorem, et judicis potestatem, et Dei nomen accepit. Lib. 4. sect. 14. p. 395.

\* Οτι ὁ αὐλὸς ὁ μονογενὴς τέ δεξ ὁ παλαιότατος τῶν ὅλων ἡ πάντων ἀρχὴ. τὸν αὐλὸν πατέρα μόνον ἠγείσθαι θεὸν ἀληθινόν, καὶ μόνον σέβειν ἡμῶν παρακελεύεται. Præparatio, lib. 7. cap. 15. p. 327.

† Διὸ δὴ καὶ μόνος θεὸς αὐλὸς· μονογενὴς δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ προΐσται. De Laudibus Const. p. 752.

‡ Ωστε, μήτε αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν ἠγείσθαι, μήτε τῶν ἀγγέλων εἶναι· τῶν δὲ μεσῶν καὶ μεσσην. διὰ τὸ πατρὶ καὶ ἀγγέλοις μεσσην, ὡς αὐτῶν, οἱ μεσσην γινώσκαι θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, μεσσοὺς ὧν ἐκείνους ταχέως ἀδελφοὺς εἶναι· μεσσην ὑπαρχῶν. εἰ αὐλὸς ὢν, οὐκ εἰς ὁ μόνος θεός· ἐν ὁμοίᾳ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀνθρώπος. τί δὲ, εἰ μὴδὲν τῶν· ἡ  
δεξ

his Books on the praises of Constantine.

“Christ was of a middle nature between  
“things created, and him that had no ori-  
“gin.”

We are now approaching to the time when we shall hear no more of this language from those who were reputed *orthodox*. We do, however, hear the same sentiment occasionally, when the writers were off their guard, and expressed themselves according to the ideas of their predecessors, especially writers near to those times. Thus, Athanasius says, that “Christ does every thing  
“according to the will and knowledge of  
“the Father †.”

Theodoret, having mentioned the great distance between the unbegotten Father and rational and irrational beings, who were by him (ὡν αὐτοῦ) produced out of nothing, says, that “his only begotten Son, by whom

ὁ ὁ μόνος υἱός, ὡς μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὡς μετέωρος γεγονώς. *Contra Marcellum*, lib. i. p. 8.

\* Μετέωρον τε καὶ διεργον τῆς τῶν γενήτων φύσεως, τὴν ἀναρχὸν καὶ ἀγενήτων ἰδεῖται. P. 719. 757.

† Τα πάντα πρὸς θεὸν καὶ γινώσκον τε αὐτοῦ πάρος ἐργάζεται. *Contra Gentes*, Opera, vol. i. p. 48.

“ (σι ης)



“(J. 11.) all things were made out of nothing,  
“is of a middle nature between them \*.”

At the close of this section I shall observe, in general, that whenever the Antenicene Fathers used the term *God* absolutely, they always meant the Father only. But if, in their idea, the Father had been no more entitled to the appellation of *God* than the Son or the Spirit, they would certainly have confined the use of the word *God* to express *divinity in general*, and have used the word *Father*, and not *God*, when they really meant the Father only, exclusively of the two other persons. Had there been no proper correlative to the word *Son*, as a person, nothing could have been inferred from this; but since the term *Father* is perfectly correlative to the term *Son*, and as familiar, it would certainly have been used by them to denote the Father, as well as the term *Son* to denote the Son. It is natural, therefore, to conclude, that their

\* Αγνωστὲς οἱ ἀνασκητοὶ, ὡς μᾶλλον ἀν εἴη μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀγεννητὰ, καὶ τῶν κτισθέντων ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐξ ἡκ οντων, λογικῶν τε καὶ ἀλογῶν. οὐκ ἐκ μὲν τελευτῶσα φύσις μονογενὴς, δι' ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἐξ ἡκ οντων ἐποίησεν ὁ πατήρ τε θεὸς λόγος. Opera, vol. 3, p. 18.

custom of using the term *God* to denote the Father only was derived to them from earlier times, in which no other than the Father was deemed to be God, in any proper sense of the word. This language was continued long after, from a change of ideas, it ceased to be proper.

Very happily, the word *God* is still, in common use, appropriated to the Father, so that none but professed theologians are habitual trinitarians, and probably not even these at all times; and while the scriptures are read without the comments of men, the Father alone will be considered as God, and the sole object of worship, exclusively of the Son, or the Spirit.



## CHAPTER V.

*Of the Power and Dignity of Christ as the  
pre-existing Logos of the Father.*

**T**HE great obstacle to the reception of christianity, especially with persons distinguished for their learning, or their rank in life, was the meanness of the person, and condition of Christ; and especially the circumstance of his having been crucified as a common malefactor. Those who had disciples, called by their names, in Greece, if they had not been distinguished for their wealth and rank in life, which was the case with some of them, had, at least, been men whose time had, in a great measure, been devoted to study, and none of them had been reckoned *infamous*. The death of Socrates bore some resemblance to that of Christ, but besides that the circumstances of the deaths themselves were considerably different, he had lived in intimacy with the first men of the state, and though not rich himself, had always been respected

respected by the rich; and his life had been devoted to speculation and instruction. Whereas Christ had had no advantage of liberal education, or leisure for study and speculation. He was born of obscure parents, and had lived in a very obscure town of the most despised part of his country; and till he was thirty years of age, when he commenced public teacher, had been nothing more than a common carpenter.

These circumstances might not have been much attended to beyond the limits of his own country. But his public execution as a common malefactor, was known wherever the name and religion of Jesus was heard of; and though he might not be thought guilty of any crime (as it was no uncommon thing in any country for persons to be condemned, and suffer unjustly) yet the manner of his death sufficiently shewed the low estimation in which he had been held in his life, and marked him for one of the meanest of mankind. To be hanged at Tyburn in this country, or to be broke upon the wheel in France, gives us



but a faint idea of the ignominy of *crucifixion* in the Roman empire.

This was one of the greatest difficulties that the first preachers of christianity had to struggle with, in their attempts to propagate christianity, and the weight of it was much greater than we, who are brought up with a high idea of the great personal dignity of Christ, notwithstanding the mean circumstances of his life, can be duly sensible of, or make sufficient allowance for. The apostles, and first preachers of christianity in general, being themselves illiterate men, had no means of removing this great obstacle, but by their accounts of the miracles wrought by Jesus Christ, and his resurrection from the dead; which were sufficient proofs of his divine mission. Also the miracles which the apostles themselves wrought, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, communicated to all the early converts, were standing proofs, during the age of the apostles, of the power of God accompanying their preaching. These plain arguments were all that the apostles, as we may see by their writings, ever opposed to the pride of the

the Jews, or the cavils and contempt of the Greeks. For a long time, christianity seems to have spread chiefly among the illiterate, though it was by no means confined to persons of low circumstances, especially out of Judea; and though we may easily perceive that, to use the apostles language, *not many rich men were called*, yet there were more of the rich than of the wise.

At length, however, some of the Greek philosophers embraced christianity; and, as was natural, they were desirous of making converts of others; and therefore would wish to recommend it to them, by exhibiting it in such a light as they imagined would make it appear to the most advantage; and in order to this they would endeavour to make it seem to be as little different from the philosophy to which they had been addicted as possible. Besides, all men are willing to combine into one system all the doctrines which they espouse; and they never reject any thing that they have been long attached to, without an evident necessity. These philosophers, therefore, even without any view to making converts, would not abandon



don their former tenets, unless they perceived that it was absolutely impossible to retain them, and their profession of christianity together; and certainly they would not themselves be so ready to see the inconsistency there might be between them as other persons less interested might have been. As to those plain men from whom these philosophers had first heard the christian doctrines, they might admit their historical evidence to matters of fact, and thus be convinced of the truth of christianity; but, considering them as ignorant and unlearned persons, might not chuse to be dictated to by them in matters of *deep speculation*; and, wretched as the state of science was in those ages, the *pride of philosophy*, and the *contempt of the vulgar*, were much greater than they are now.

It happened that the philosophy which was most in vogue in that age was *Platonism*, the principles of which have been seen to be more conformable to those of revealed religion in general, than those of any other system that was taught in the Grecian schools; as it contained the doctrines

trines of the unity of God, the reality of a providence, and the immortality of the soul. But, unhappily, making a difference between the Supreme Being himself, and his *mind*, or *ideas*; and giving an obscure notion of its being by means of a *divine efflux*, that all truth is perceived by the mind, as common objects are seen by the beams of the sun; they imagined that a ray of this wisdom, or the great *second divine principle* in their system, might illuminate Jesus Christ, and even have permanently attached itself to him. And with respect to this divine principle, which qualified him to be a public teacher, they might easily imagine that he had had an existence from the time that any divine operation took place; so that they no longer looked upon themselves as the disciples of an obscure person, who had lately started up, and made himself conspicuous by new doctrines, but of that great being who was instrumental in making the world, and who was the source of all truth.

This idea was highly flattering, and the philosophers lately become christians, see-



ing that Philo had availed himself of the same platonic notions, to explain the history of the divine dispensations in the Old Testament, followed him in this progress, and extended the same to the New; supposing that the same divine logos, which Philo had represented as the medium of all the visible appearances of God to the patriarchs, was the same that was manifested in Jesus Christ.

This system gave a dignity to the person and character of Christ, which effectually covered *the offence of the cross*. It made the profession of christianity sit much easier upon the minds of these philosophers themselves, and furnished them with arguments by which to recommend it to others, who entertained the same philosophical principles. In this specious manner were the doctrines of the *pre-existence* and *divinity of Christ*, introduced into the christian system.

That it was the meanness of Christ's person, and the circumstances of his death, at which the heathen philosophers revolted, we have abundant evidence. "The  
"heathens," says Arnobius "reproach  
"christians

“ christians with worshipping a man\*.”  
 “ The Gods are offended at you,” say they,  
 “ not because you worship the God that is  
 “ omnipotent, but because you daily pray  
 “ to a man who was born, and (which is in-  
 “ famous even to the vilest person) put to  
 “ death by crucifixion, and because you  
 “ maintain that he is a God, and is now  
 “ alive †.” “ What is the reason,” says  
 Austin, “ that you will not be christians, but  
 “ because Christ came in humility, and  
 “ you are proud ‡.”

But when christians had found *two na-  
 tures* in Christ, a *divine* as well as a *human*  
 nature, they could easily answer this re-  
 proach of the heathens. “ Who was it,”

\* Natum hominem colimus. Lib. 1. p. 12.

† Sed non (inquit) idcirco dii vobis infesti sunt, quod omnipotentem colatis Deum : sed quod hominem natum, et (quod personis infame est vilibus) crucis supplicio interemptum, et Deum fuisse contenditis, et superesse adhuc creditis, et quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis. Ibid. Supra.

‡ Quid causæ est cur propter opiniones vestras, quas vos ipsi oppugnatis christiani esse nolitis, nisi quia Christus humiliter venit, et vos superbi estis. De Civitate Dei, lib. 10. cap. 29. Opera, vol. 5. p. 591.



says Arnobius, “ that was seen hanging on  
 “ the cross? The man whom he put on,  
 “ and whom he carried with him. The  
 “ death you speak of was that of the man  
 “ he had assumed, that of the burthen, not  
 “ of the bearer\*.” This was an answer  
 that we do not find to have occurred to the  
 apostles. “ Cavilling at the cross,” Atha-  
 nasius says, “ they do not see that his  
 “ power fills the whole world, and that ac-  
 “ tions shewing him to be God are per-  
 “ formed by him†.”

It was also a great objection to chris-  
 tianity that the system was *new*, and the  
 author of it a person of yesterday. But this  
 sublime doctrine, of Christ being the *divine*  
*logos*, and the medium of all the divine  
 communications of God to mankind, en-  
 abled them to repel this accusation with

\* Quis est ergo visus in patibulo pendere, quis mortuus  
 est? homo, quem induerat, et secum ipse portabat. Mors  
 illa, quam dicitis, assumpti hominis fuit, non ipsius: ges-  
 tamini, non gestantis. Lib. I. p. 22.

† Οι τον ταυτον διαβαλλοντες, εχουσιν την της δυναμιν πασαν την  
 οικουμένης υπερληρωμένην· η̃ ο̃ι δι αυτης τα της θεογονιας εργα  
 πασι πεφανερωται. Contra Gentes, Opera, vol. I. p. 2.

great advantage. Eusebius gives an account of the appearances of Christ under the Old Testament; "lest any person," as he says, "should object to him as a new person.\*" In this view, he says, "the patriarchs may, in one sense be called christians†." Cassian says, that "Mary produced one who was older than herself, even her own maker, so that she was the parent of her parent‡."

Christians were even ready to go farther than this in order to recommend their religion to heathens. They did not even scruple to point out some resemblances between it and the grossest polytheism. Justin

\* Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ἀναγκαιῶς πρὸ τῆς ἱστορίας εὐλαβηθεὶς μοι κηρύττειν, ὥς ἂν μὴ νεώτερον τις εἶναι νομιστῇ τοῦ σωτῆρα καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ χριστοῦ, διὰ τῆς τῆς ἐνσαρκῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ χρόνος. Hist. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 14.

† Πάσις δ' ἐκείνους δικαιοσύνη μαμαρτυρημένους, εἰ αὐτὴ τῆς Ἀβραάμ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου, ἔργω χριστιανός, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀνοματὶ προσεῖπων τις, καὶ ἂν εὖλος βαλοῖ τῆς ἀληθείας. Ibid. p. 15.

‡ Vides ergo quod non solum inquam antiquiorem se Maria peperit: non solum inquam antiquiorem se, sed autorem sui, et procreans procreatorem suum, facta est parentis parens. De incarnatione Domini, lib. 4. p. 1004.



Martyr, speaking of Jesus, as stiled the *Son of God*, says, "If, in the usual style, and as  
 "a man only, he be worthy to be called  
 "the Son of God, on account of his wis-  
 "dom, all writers call Jupiter the father  
 "of gods and men. But if in a peculiar  
 "manner, out of the way of common ge-  
 "neration, we say that Christ is the *logos*  
 "of God; this agrees with those who  
 "hold Mercury to be the wisdom of God,  
 "which explains his will. If we say that  
 "he was born of a virgin, this is only what  
 "is said of Perseus\*."

With the same view (not so much to be  
 condemned if we consider its circumstances,  
 and the mere morality of the thing) Justin  
 Martyr, as far as appears, invented the doc-  
 trine of Christ being the *logos* of God;  
 but it was only the same that Philo had  
 before represented as the medium of all

\* Τίος ἔστι θεὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λεγόμενος, εἰ καὶ κοινῶς μόνον ἀνθρώπος, διὰ  
 σοφίαν ἀξίος υἱὸς θεὸς λεγέσθαι, πατέρα γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε πάν-  
 τες συγγραφείς τὸν θεὸν καλεῖσιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδίως, παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν γενέσιν  
 γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λεγόμενον λόγον θεοῦ, ὡς προεφημῆν, κοινὸν τέλος  
 ἐγὼ ὑμῖν τοῖς τὸν Ἑρμῆν λόγον τὸν πατέρα θεοῦ, ἀγγελικὸν λεγῶσιν. Εἰ δὲ  
 διὰ παρθεύου γεγενῆσθαι φερόμενον, κοινὸν καὶ τέλος πρὸς τὸν Περσεὺς ἐγὼ  
 ὑμῖν. Apol. i. p. 33, 34.

the

the communications of God to the patriarchs. He also extended this principle as a compliment to the philosophy of the Greeks; supposing this also to have been inspired by the same logos; and in this he was followed by several others, though in a later period christians were ashamed of having conceded to the heathens, so far as to suppose that the Grecian philosophy had the same divine origin with christianity. "All that the philosophers and "legislators said and taught," says Justin Martyr, "was effected and discovered "according to a portion of the logos; but "because they did not discover every thing "of the logos, they often differed among "themselves.—Christ was in part known "to Socrates, for the logos was in him, "and in every person, by the prophets "foretelling things to come, and concern- "ing himself being made like us, and "teaching us these things\*."

\* Όσα γὰρ καλῶς αἰεὶ ἐφ' ἐγγέλῳ καὶ εὐρον οἱ φιλοσοφῆσαντες ἢ νομοθετήσαντες, καὶ αὐτὰ λόγῳ μερῶς εὐρεσέως καὶ θεωρίας ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὰ πάντα ταῦτα τὸ λόγῳ ἐγνώρισαν, οὗ ἐστὶ χριστός, καὶ ἐναντία τούτοις πολλοὶς εἶπον. Χριστῷ δὲ, τῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Σωκράτους αὐτὸ μερὸς



Clemens Alexandrinus followed Justin Martyr in this doctrine; supposing the logos that was united to Christ to have been the same principle which the Divine Being had in all ages made use of, as an instrument to instruct mankind, whether by means of the Greek philosophy, or any other system. He calls the logos "the instrument of God, by which he made man," giving him the title of (*σοφία υπέρκοσμιος*) *supra mundane wisdom*\*, He says, that "our Saviour is called the logos on account of his inventing rational methods for the instruction of men†." "Let us," says he, "glorify the blessed œconomy, by which man is instructed and sanctified, as a child of God."—"The logos both makes all things, and teaches all things. As the horse is led by the bridle, and the bull

γνωσθέντι (λογος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν παντί ὢν, καὶ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προειπῶν τὰ μελλούσα γινέσθαι, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ὁμοιοπαθεῖς γενομένους καὶ διδάσκοντι ταῦτα). Apol. 2. p. 124, 125.

\* Ad Gentes, p. 4.

† Ταῦτα καὶ ὁ σῶτης ὁ λόγος κενότατοι, ὁ τὰ λογικά ταῦτα ἐξευρών ἀνθρώποις εἰς ευαγγελισθῆναι καὶ σωθῆναι φάρμακα. Pæd. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 134.

" by

“by the yoke, so man by the logos\*.”  
 “God, as the author of all good, was the  
 “author of the Greek philosophy; and  
 “this was the schoolmaster to the Greeks,  
 “as the law was to the Jews, preparing  
 “the way for christianity †.” He else-  
 where says, “God gave the Greek phi-  
 “losophy by the inferior angels. ‡.” So  
 that he seems to have adopted the doctrine  
 of Philo, in making angels not to be per-  
 manent beings, but only temporary appear-  
 ances of the logos.

\* Την μακαριαν δοξαζωμεν οικονομιαν δι ην παιδαγωγηται μεν ο  
 ανθρωπος, αγιαζεται δε ως θεος παιδιον. κ̅ πολυτευεται μεν εν υρανοις  
 απο γης παιδαγωγυμενος. πατερα δε εμει λαμβανει, ου επι γης μα-  
 θανει. παντα ο λογος κ̅ ποιει, κ̅ διδασκει, κ̅ παιδαγωγει. ιππος,  
 αγγελαι χαλινω. κ̅ ταυρος αγγελαι ζυγω. θηριον βροχω αυσκηται. ο  
 δε ανθρωπος, μεταπλασσειται λογω. Pæd. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 265.

† Παντα μεν γαρ αλλος των καλων ο θεος. αλλα των μεν καλα προ-  
 κυνημενον, ως της τε διαθηκης της παλαιας κ̅ της νεας. των δε, καλ̅  
 επακολουθημα, ως της φιλοσοφιας. ταχα δε κ̅ προηγουμενος τοις  
 ελλησιν εδοθη τοις, πρωι η τον κυριον μαλιστα κ̅ της ελληνας. επαιδα-  
 γωγει γαρ κ̅ αυτη το ελληνικον, ως ο νομος της εβραυς, εις χριστον.  
 προπαραισκευαζει τοινυν η φιλοσοφια, προσδοποιεσα τον υπο χριστη  
 τελειωμενον.—Καταφανεται τοινυν προπαιδεια η ελληνικη, συν κ̅ αυτη  
 φιλοσοφια θεοθεν ηκειν εις ανθρωπους. Strom. lib. 1. p. 282. 287.  
 See also Strom. lib. 6. p. 636. 648.

‡ Ουλος εστιν ο διδης και τοις ελλησι την φιλοσοφian δια των υποδε-  
 εστερων αγγελων. Ibid. lib. 7. p. 702.

This



This idea of the source of the Greek philosophy was exactly that of Justin Martyr, who says, "the doctrine of Plato is  
 "not foreign from that of Christ, though  
 "not in all respects like it; as neither is  
 "that of the stoicks, the poets, and histo-  
 "rians. For each of them, from a por-  
 "tion of the divine logos implanted in  
 "them, perceiving something similar," viz.  
 to the christian doctrine, "very justly de-  
 "livered it \*."

On this principle, these writers could talk very magnificently concerning the dignity of Christ, but in a manner which would have been very little understood, or relished, by the apostles. Clemens Alex-  
 "andrinus gives the following sublime description of Christ as the logos of God, representing him as "most holy and per-  
 "fect in his nature, supreme in autho-  
 "rity and beneficence, nearest to the only  
 "omnipotent nature, which disposes of all

\* Ουχ' οὐ ἀλλοίρια ἐστὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος διδασκαλία τε χριστῶ, ἀλλ' οὐ  
 καὶ ἐστὶ παρὰ ὁμοία, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, Στωικῶν τε, καὶ ποιητῶν,  
 καὶ συγγραφεῶν. εἰκασθὲν γὰρ τις ἀπο μέρους τῆς σπερματικῆς δεῖν λόγῳ  
 τοῦ συγγενεῖς ὄρεον, καλῶς ἐφ' ἐγγύχει. Apol. 2. p. 132.

" things

“ things according to the will of the Fa-  
 “ ther—not separated, or divided, or re-  
 “ moving from place to place, not circum-  
 “ scribed; all mind, all paternal light, all  
 “ eye, seeing every thing, hearing every thing,  
 “ knowing every thing; by his power  
 “ searching all power. To him the whole  
 “ host of heaven and of gods is subject\*.”

Who could be ashamed of such a master as this? But this was not the crucified Jesus.

That it was Christ who taught the Greeks their philosophy, was a doctrine afterwards abandoned by the christians; but that he was the medium of divine communication to the patriarchs, was firmly retained, though

\* Τελειωτατη δὴ καὶ αἰγιωτατη, καὶ κυριωτατη καὶ ηγεμονικωτατη, καὶ βασιλικωτατη, καὶ ευεργετικωτατη ἡ οὐκ φυσικὴ, ἡ τῷ μόνῳ παυλοκρατορί προ-  
 σεχεσθαι, αὐτὴ ἡ μεγίστη ὑπεροχή, ἡ τὰ πάντα διαλασσεῖν καὶ τὸ θε-  
 λῆμα τῆ πατρὸς, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀρίστα οἰκιστεῖ, ἀκαμάτω, καὶ αἰετῷ δυνά-  
 μει πάντα ἐργαζομένη, δι' ἣν ἐνεργεῖται ἀποκροφθεῖς ἐννοίας ἐπιβλεπύσασα.  
 ἔ γὰρ ἐξιστρεῖ ποτε τῆς αὐτῆς περιωπῆς ὁ υἱὸς τῆ θεοῦ. ἔ μεριζομενος,  
 καὶ ἀπολεινομενος, ἔ μελαινῶν ἐκ τοπῆ εἰς τοπὸν, πάντῃ δὲ πάντοτε, καὶ  
 μηδαμῇ περιεχομενος, ὅλος νῆς, ὅλος φῶς παύρων, ὅλος οφθαλμὸς πάν-  
 τα ὁρῶν, πάντα ἀκούων, εἰδὼς πάντα, δυνάμει τὰς δυνάμεις ἐρευνῶν· τὰ  
 πάντα ὑποτάσσεται χάριτι ἀγγέλων τε καὶ θεῶν. Strom. lib. 7. p.



it is an opinion directly contrary to that of the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, who begins with saying, "*God who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the Fathers by the prophets, has in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.*" According to this, it is evident that God had not spoken to mankind by his Son before the dispensation of the gospel.

As it was Justin Martyr who probably first advanced this doctrine, I shall give from his writings a passage or two in which it is expressed. They occur in his dialogue with Trypho, and were evidently intended to reconcile the Jews to the christian religion. But it was not the method which had been taken by the apostles. They were content to shew from the scriptures that Jesus was the Christ, who *was to come* into the world, and not one that had ever been in it, or acted any part in it, before he was born. "Bear with me," says Justin, "and I will shew you from the book of Exodus, that this is the same who is called an angel, and God, and Lord, and a man, and the man who appeared to Abraham, and to  
" Isaac,

“ Isaac, and appearing in the form of a  
 “ flame of fire, discoursed with Moses from  
 “ the bush\*.” “ Who is he that is some-  
 “ times called the angel of the great coun-  
 “ cil, a man by Ezekiel, the son of man by  
 “ Daniel, a child by Isaiah, and Christ, and  
 “ God to be worshipped, and David, and  
 “ Christ, and a stone by many, and wisdom  
 “ by Solomon, and Joseph, and Judas, and  
 “ a star by Moses, and ἀνέκτολη [a branch] by  
 “ Zechariah, and one who was to suffer,  
 “ and Jacob, and Israel again by Isaiah, and  
 “ a rod, and a flower, and a chief corner  
 “ stone, and the Son of God†.” “ As he  
 “ is called the Son of God in the writings  
 “ of the apostles, we understand him to be

\* Ανασχέσθε με, ελεγον, ὃ ἀπο τῆς βίβλου τῆς Εξοδῆς, ἀποδεικνύ-  
 οντι υμῖν πῶς ὁ αὐλὸς οὐλὸς καὶ ἀγγελὸς, καὶ θεὸς, καὶ κυριότις, καὶ ἀνθρῶ-  
 πος Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαακ φανεῖς, ἐν πυρὶ φλογὸς ἐκ βαθεῖ πεφανταί  
 καὶ ὡμύλησε τῷ Μωϋσῇ. Dial. p. 263.

† Τις δ' ἐστὶν υἱὸς οὗ καὶ ἀγγελὸς μεγάλης βουλῆς πῶτε, καὶ ἀνθρῶπις διὰ Ἰσρα-  
 ῆλ, καὶ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου διὰ Δαυὶδ, καὶ παιδίον διὰ Ἡσαΐα, καὶ χριστὸς, καὶ  
 θεὸς προσωνυμίας, καὶ Δαβὶδ, καὶ χριστὸς, καὶ κυριότις διὰ πολλῶν, καὶ σοφία  
 διὰ Σολομῶντος, καὶ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ Ἰούδας, καὶ ἀστὴρ διὰ Μωϋσῆος, καὶ ἀνέκτολη  
 διὰ Ζαχαρίας, καὶ πῶλητος, καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ πατήρ διὰ Ἡσαΐα, καὶ  
 ραβδὸς, καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ κυριότις ἀποργιστὸς νεκρῶν καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ. Ibid.

P. 407.

“ before



“ before all creatures, coming from the  
 “ Father by his power, and at his pleasure,  
 “ who is also called wisdom, and day, and  
 “ a day star, and a sword, and a stone, and a  
 “ staff, and Jacob, and Israel, and in vari-  
 “ ous ways in the writings of the pro-  
 “ phets \*.” “ Our Christ,” he says, “ in  
 “ the form of fire, spake to Moses from the  
 “ bush, and said, put off thy shoes,” &c. †

According to Philo, and the christian philosophers, the logos was not only a teacher, but also the creator of all things; and when this logos was represented as the same with Christ, nothing could give men a higher idea of their crucified master. “ How,” says Chrysostom, “ can any dare  
 “ to call Christ a servant, who did not put  
 “ forth all his strength when he made the

\* Και υιον θεα γεγραμμενον αυτον εν τοις απομνημονευμασι των αποστολων αυτε εχοντες, η υιον αυτον λεγοντες, νενοηκαμεν οντα η προ παλιν ποιηματα, απο τε παλιν δυναμει αυτε η βελη προσελθοντα, ος η σοφια, η ημερα, η αναλογη, η μαχαυρα, η ληθη, η ραθυνη, η Ιακωβ, η Ισραηλ, και αλλον η αλλον τροπον, εν τοις των προφητων λογοις προσηγινεται. Dial. p. 353.

† Εν ιδεα πυρος εκ βαλε προσωμνησεν αυτω ο ημετερος χριστος, και ειπεν, υποδυσαι τα υποδηματα σε, και προσελθων ακουσον. Apol. i.

p. 92.

“ world.”

“ world \*.” Tatian says that “ the logos  
“ before the creation of man, was the maker  
“ of angels †.”

Methodius very distinctly mentions a middle scheme, supposing, after Philo, that the Father created matter out of nothing, by an act of his will, and that afterwards the Son formed it into worlds. “ There  
“ are,” he says, “ two creative powers, he  
“ that by his mere will creates whatever he  
“ pleases out of nothing, which is the Fa-  
“ ther; the other, which adorns and per-  
“ fects what was first produced by the for-  
“ mer, and in imitation of him. This is  
“ the Son, the powerful right hand of the  
“ Father, by which, after he had created  
“ matter out of nothing, he adorns it ‡.”

\* Πως εν τολμωσι τινες υπαργον λεγειν τον υιον, ο γαρ μηδε ολην αυτη την ενεργειαν κινησας, ολε τον κραγον εδει ποιησαι. In Pf. 8. Opera, vol. 3. p. 121.

† Ο μεν εν λογος προ της των ανδρων καϊασκευης αγγελων δημιουργος γινεσθαι. Ad Græcos. sect. 10. p. 26.

‡ Δυο δε δυναμεις εν τοις προωμολογημενοις εφαιμεν ειναι ποιητικας, την εξ εκ ούλων γυμνω τω βεληματι χωρις μελισμα, αμα τω δελησαι αυτην γησαν ο βελεται ποιειν· ο τυγχανει δε ο πατηρ. θαλεραν δε κατακοσμεσαν και ποικιλισαν κατα μιμησιν της προτεραις τα ηδη γεγονοτα· εστι δε ο υιος, η παντοδυναμος και κραλαια χειρ τε πατρος, εν η μελα το ποιησαι την υλην εξ εκ ούλων καϊανοσμει. Photii. Bib. p. 997.

If



If we admit the distinction between *ποιητής* and *δημιουργός* given by Justin Martyr, it may be supposed that all the more early Fathers, who called Christ the *demiurgus*, believed that the matter out of which the world was made was provided by the Father \*.

Afterwards it was supposed that the Son was employed in the original creation of matter out of nothing. Thus Tertullian says, “the rule of faith requires us to believe that there is one God, who produced all things out of nothing, by his Son, first emitted from him †.”

To be born of a woman was certainly degrading to this great personage; but the disgrace was in a great measure wiped away, when it was considered that he made the

\* Αναγκαιον δε οίμαι και τάλω προσεχειν τον νεν, ὅτι εἰς ποιητήν αὐτον ο Πλάτων, ἀλλὰ δημιουργόν ονομαζει θεόν· καιτοι πολλης διαφορας εν τῶις εἰς καὶ την αὐτὴν Πλάτωνος δόξαν· ο μὲν γὰρ ποιητής, εἰδένος εἴρε προσδεόμενος, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς δυναμews και εξουσίας ποιεῖ το ποιημενον· ο δε δημιουργός, την τῆς δημιουργίας δυναμιν ἐκ τῆς υἱῆς εἰδηφως, κατὰσχευαζει το γενομενον. Ad Græcos. p. 21.

† Regola est autem fidei—qua creditur unum omnia Deum esse—qui universa de nihilo produxerit per verbum suum primo omnium demissum. De Præscriptione. sect. 13. p. 206.

very woman of whom he was born. "If  
 "all things were made by him," says Austin,  
 "Mary, of whom he was born, was made  
 "by him \*." His body was also a dis-  
 graceful circumstance; but not so much  
 so when it was considered that he made  
 that very body. Clemens Alexandrinus,  
 speaking of the Son, says, "he forms  
 "himself †." "The logos, going forth,  
 "was the author of creation, and pro-  
 "duced itself, when it was made flesh,  
 "that it might be seen ‡." "Having  
 "formed to himself a body out of the vir-  
 "gin," Athanasius says, "he gave no small  
 "proof of his divinity, for he who made  
 "that, did also make all things §."

As Christ made his own body, so he  
 likewise made his own human soul. "The

\* Si enim omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et ipsa Maria de  
 qua natus est, per ipsum facta est. In Ps. 75. Opera, vol.  
 8. p. 827.

† Και μὴ παῦλον κίξει καὶ δημιουργεῖ. Strom. lib. 7. p. 706.

‡ Προελθὼν δὲ ὁ λόγος, δημιουργίας αἰῶνος, σπείλα καὶ παῦλον γεννᾷ,  
 οἷαν ὁ λόγος σὰρξ γεννηταί, ἵνα καὶ θείῃ. Ibid. lib. 5. p. 553.

§ Ἐκ παρθενῆς πλαῖνται, εὐλῶ το σῶμα, ἵνα μὴ μικρὸν τῆς θεότητος  
 αὐτοῦ γνωρισμὰ πᾶσι παραστήνῃ· οὐδὲ οὗτο πλασθεὶς, αὐτὸς ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ποιητής. De Incarnatione, Opera, vol. 1. p. 71.



“logos of God,” says Anastasius Sanaia,  
 “when he came to renew Adam, made for  
 “himself such a soul as he first imparted  
 “from himself to Adam, by breathing into  
 “him \*.”

According to the same system, which  
 made Christ the creator of his own body, he  
 likewise raised that body from the grave.  
 “If,” says Athanasius, “when he hung  
 “upon the cross, he raised the bodies of the  
 “saints, when they were dissolved, much  
 “more could he raise his own body, which  
 “he carried about him, being the logos  
 “of the ever living God †.” “He who  
 “quickeneth all the dead quickened the  
 “man Christ Jesus, whom he had as-  
 “sumed ‡.” Eusebius says, that Christ

\* Επιδημησας εν ο τε θες λογος, επι το ανακαινισαι τον Αδαμ, τοι-  
 αυτην εαυτω ψυχην εδημιουργησεν, οιαν απαρχης εξ εαυτου δια τε εμφυ-  
 σματος τω Αδαμ μετεδωκεν. De Hominis Creatione, Ban-  
 dini Collectio, vol. 2. p. 64.

† Ει γαρ επι σταυρω των τα προδιαλευθοντα νεκρα των αγιων ηγειρε  
 σωματα\* πολλω μαλλον ηγειραι δυναται ο εφορεσε σωμα, ο αι ζωη  
 θεος λογος. Opera, vol. 2. p. 542.

‡ Ο γαρ πασι τις νεκρος ζωοποιων, και τον εκ Μαρίας ανθρωπον  
 χριστον Ιησυν εξωοποισεν, ου ανειληφεν. Sermo Major de Fide in  
 Montfaucon's Collectio, vol. 2. p. 6.

raised his own body, being the right hand and power of the Father \*. This Paulinus supposed to have been foretold by Jacob, when he compared Judah to a lion. “The same Lord is the lion who conquered, and the lion’s whelp, who went to sleep of his own accord, and raised himself up, of whom it is written, Who shall raise him up †.”

But according to Origen, he was raised to life by God the Father, “the same,” he says, “whom Christ honoured as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and whom he called not the God of the dead, but of the living ‡.”

The logos of the Father having now assumed a proper personal character, and be-

\* *Και αὐτός το εαυτοῦ ἀνέστησε σῶμα, δέξας καὶ δύναμις ἐν τῷ πατρὶ.* In P. Montfaucon’s *Collectio*, vol. 1. p. 701.

† *Idem enim dominus et leo ille, qui vicit et catulus est leonis, sua sponte sopitus, et a semetipso resuscitatus, de quo scriptum est: Quis suscitabit eum? Ad Severum, Ep. 4. Opera, p. 53.*

‡ *Οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ ἄλλῃ ἰσχύϊ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερμένον Ἰησοῦν θεῶν, ἢ τῶν πατέρων, οὐ καὶ ὁ χρίστος δοξαζὼν θεὸν τῆς Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ φησιν, εἶναι, ἐν οὐτῶν νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ζώντων.* In *Johan. Comment.* vol. 2. p. 183.



ing inseparably united with the man Jesus, a new and immense field of speculation is opened unto us; and great scope was given to the ingenuity of those who maintained so complex and so extraordinary a system. Christ was now a three-fold being, consisting of the divine *logos*, a human *soul*, and a human *body*; and the combination of all the powers peculiar to each of these component parts was certainly in great danger of considerably affecting them all, some being lowered and others raised.

Considering Christ as one compound being, it was generally agreed that he held a middle rank between the supreme God and the creatures. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, says that “Christ, by whom God  
“made all things, is called a middle nature  
“between the Father who is unbegotten,  
“and the creatures\*.”

Theophilus, following Philo, says, that  
“the Father is not confined to place, but

\* Αγνοῦνται οἱ ἀνασκητοὶ, ὡς μακρὸν ἀν εἴη μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς  
ἐγγενῆς καὶ τῶν χρισθέντων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκ οὐλῶν, λογικῶν τε καὶ  
αἰσθητῶν, ὧν μετέγενετο φῦσις μονογενὴς, δι’ ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἐκ  
οὐλῶν ἐποίησεν ὁ πατήρ τε θεὸς λόγος. Theodoriti Hist. lib. 1.  
cap. 4. p. 17.

“ that

“ that the *logos*, by which he made all  
 “ things, being his power and wisdom, as-  
 “ suming the character of the Father, and  
 “ Lord of all, was present in Paradise, in  
 “ the character of God \*.”

Bishop Bull acknowledges that Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Novatian thought that the Father could not be confined to place, but that the Son might †.

Methodius calls Christ the oldest of the æons, and the chief of the archangels ‡.

\* Αὐτὸς ὁ ϑεὸς· ὁ μὲν θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων ἀχωρήτος ἐστίν, καὶ ἐν τόπῳ οὐ εὐρίσκειται· καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τόπος τῆς κατὰ πάυσιν αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὰ πάντα ποιῶν, δυναμὶς καὶ σοφία αὐτοῦ, ἀναλαμβάνων τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου τῶν ὅλων, υἱὸς παρεγένετο εἰς τὸν παραδείσον ἐν πρόσωπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ.  
 Lib. 2. p. 129.

† Defensio, sect. 4. cap. 3. p. 236.

‡ Ἡ γὰρ πρεσβυτεία τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν αἰώνων καὶ πρώτου τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων ἀνθρώπων μέλλον συνομιλεῖν εἰς τὸν πρεσβυτεῖον καὶ πρώτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσοικισθῆναι. De Convivio Virginum, p. 79.



## CHAPTER VI.

*Christ, beside being the Logos of the Father,  
was thought to have a proper human Soul.*

**A**S Christ reasoned and conversed like other men, it might have been thought that he had only one reasoning intelligent principle within him, whatever that had been. But it is remarkable, that all the Fathers till the time of Arius held that Christ had a proper human soul, as well as a human body; which, of itself, affords a strong presumption, that the ancient opinion was, that of Christ being a mere man, without any pre-existent soul at all. Had the generally received opinion been, that the soul of Christ was a great pre-existent spirit, they who aimed at nothing more than advancing the rank and power of that spirit, would not have thought it necessary to give Christ another soul (one being sufficient for all the purposes of intelligence) and whatever this soul had been capable of before, it might have done afterwards.

Since,

Since, therefore, the philosophizing christians did not proceed in this manner, it is plain that they had a different foundation to build upon. They found the popular opinion to be, that Christ was *a man*; and the received opinion of that age was, that a man consisted of two parts, viz. soul and body. What they said, therefore, at first, was, as I have shewn, little more than all christians had supposed, and what might be considered as only a different way of expressing the same thing. The common people believed that the man Jesus was under the direction and influence of the spirit and power of God, and the philosophers among them supposed that the divine spirit, which they called the *logos*, was attached, and inseparably united, to the man Jesus. They would say, that this was only the same *principle*, or *power*, by which God made the world, and inspired the ancient prophets; and the common people would not know how to object to this.

Accordingly, it does not appear, that the common people were alarmed at this



new doctrine, till those who had advanced it proceeded one step farther, and maintained, that in consequence of this intimate and permanent union of the divine logos to the man Jesus, he might be called *God*. Still, however, they were particularly careful to represent this *new God* as greatly inferior to the Supreme Being, and as having no divinity, but what he derived from him; and, therefore, might still be called *his*. In this manner, we have seen, they endeavoured to turn off the force of the popular objections.

When, afterwards, the Arians supposed the logos that was in Christ to be a *created being*, and not the proper logos, or *reason of the Father*, they naturally dropped the notion of Christ having a human soul; and at this, as being quite a *novel* opinion, the orthodox made loud exclamations. Had the ancient doctrine, therefore, been, that the logos was a creature, the notion of Christ having a human soul would never have been adopted.

It is evident, that the christian writers never speak of more than *one logos*, and this was

was the logos, or wisdom of the Father, and *uncreated*. Whether, therefore, they thought that this logos could be so far united to a man, as to partake of his sufferings (which some of them probably did) or they did not, it is evident that it could not be a human soul. Besides, had there been any such difference of opinion among the Fathers, as that some of them should have held that the logos in Christ was uncreated, while others held that it was created; if some of them should have maintained that it was the proper wisdom and power of the Father, and others that it was a spirit so far similar to a human soul, as to be capable of a proper union with a human body, and of all the functions of other souls, there would certainly have been a discussion of the question. Considering how attentive christians actually were to every opinion concerning the person of Christ, from the time of the apostles to that of the council of Nice, as well as afterwards, a difference of opinion of this magnitude would



would certainly have excited as much controversy before the time of Arius as it did after his time.

Since, therefore, it is evident from their writings, that all the Fathers before the council of Nice, who mention the *logos* at all, had the same idea of it, and there was no controversy among them on the subject (though they were highly offended at the notion of the Gnostics, whose *Christ* very much resembled the *Arian logos*) it may be presumed, *a priori*, that they did not differ with respect to the other constituent parts of Christ, but that whatever opinion was clearly held by some of them, was held by them all. And there is this farther probability in favour of it, that there was no more controversy among them about the *soul of Christ*, than there was about the *logos*.

That Christ had a human soul, was clearly, as I shall now proceed to show, the opinion of all the orthodox Fathers before the council of Nice. Clemens Romanus says, " Christ gave his own blood for us by  
" the

“ the will of God, his flesh for our flesh, his  
 “ soul for our souls\*.” Justin Martyr  
 says, “ Our doctrine is more sublime than  
 “ any thing that was ever taught by man,  
 “ as the whole of the rational being, Christ,  
 “ who appeared for us, consisted of a *body*,  
 “ the *logos*, and a *soul*†.”

Irenæus unquestionably had the idea of  
 Christ having a human *soul*, as well as a  
 body. In describing the whole person of  
 Christ, he represents it as the union of *God*  
*and man*, and not of the *logos* and the body  
 of a man only. “ The prophets,” he says,  
 “ preached his coming according to the  
 “ flesh, by which he was made a mixture  
 “ and union of God and man‡.” He al-

\* Εν αγαπῇ προσήλασθαι ημᾶς ὁ θεοπότης διὰ τῆς ἀγα-  
 πῆς ἣν ἔχει πρὸς ημᾶς, τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐδώκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ  
 χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἐν δειλημῶνι θανάτῳ, καὶ τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.  
 Sect. 49. p. 175.

† Μεγαλειότερα μὲν ἢ πάσης ἀνθρωπείης διδασκαλίας  
 φαίνεται τα ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ λογικοῦ το ὅλον [διὰ το λο-  
 γικὸν ὅλον] τοῦ φανεῖν δι ημᾶς χριστὸν γεγονέναι καὶ σῶμα  
 καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχὴν. Apol. 2. p. 129.

‡ Prophetæ— prædicaverunt ejus secundum carnem  
 adventum, per quem commixtio et communio dei et ho-  
 minis—facta est. Lib. 4. cap. 37. p. 331.

ways



ways supposes man to consist of two parts *soul* and *body*, and expressly speaks of Christ as having both. "If Christ," he says, "was not what we are, it is of little consequence that he suffered. We consist of a *body* which is from the earth, and a *soul* from the breath of God. The word of God therefore took this, his own work, upon himself, and on this account confesses himself to be the Son of man\*."

He speaks of Christ as being three days in the place where the dead are, preaching to the souls there †; and he could not think that such a *logos* as he describes could

\* Si hoc non factus est quod nos eramus, non magnum faciebat quod passus est et sustinuit. Nos autem, quoniam corpus sumus de terra acceptum, et anima accipiens adeo spiritum, omnis quicumque confitebitur. Hoc itaque factum est verbum Dei, suum plasma in semetipsum recapitulans, et propter hoc filium hominis se confitetur. Lib. 3. cap. 33. p. 260.

† Tribus diebus conversatus est ubi erant mortui.— Et propter hoc Dominum in ea quæ sunt sub terra descendisse, evangelizantem et illis adventum suum remissam peccatorum existentem his qui credunt in eum. Lib. 5. cap. 35, p. 451. Lib. 4. cap. 45. p. 346.

have

have been particularly in that place. For he considered the *logos* not as any thing that was *created*, but what had always existed with God. "Thou, O man," says he, "art not uncreated, nor didst thou co-exist with God, like his own word \*."

In answer to the Gnostics, who said that it was *Jesus* only, and not *the Christ* that suffered, he says, indeed, that in the account of our Saviour's sufferings in the scriptures, the word *Christ* is made use of†. But when he explains himself more fully, he says, it was *the man* only that suffered, the *logos* being quiescent at that time. "As he was man that he might be tempted, so he was the *logos* that he might be glorified; the *logos* being quiescent in his temptation, crucifixion, and death, but being present with the man, in his victory, patience, kindness, resurrection, and ascension‡."

\* Non enim infectus es, O homo, nec semper co-existebas Deo, sicut proprium ejus verbum. Lib. 2. cap. 43. p. 169.

† Παύλαρχε ἐπὶ ταῖς πάσας τὰς κυρίας ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ τῷ τῷ χρίστῳ κεχρησθῆναι ὀνομασίῃ. Lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 246.

‡ Ὡς περὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα πειρασθῆναι, εἶναι καὶ λόγον ἵνα δοξασθῇ. πνευματικός μὲν τὸ λόγος ἐν τῷ πειρασθῆναι, καὶ ταυρασθῆναι, καὶ ἀποδύσκειν



It is sufficiently evident that Novatian believed Christ to have a soul as well as the *logos*, this being God, a principle properly *divine*, which could not suffer or die. "If the immortal soul in other persons," he says, "could not be killed, how much less could the word of God, and God in Christ, be killed—From this," he says, "may be inferred, that it was only the man in Christ that was killed, and that the word could not become mortal." As he had just before observed that in man the body only can die, he would naturally have used the term *body* with respect to Christ, and not that of *man in him*, if he had not believed that besides the *logos*, Christ consisted of a compleat man, soul and body\*.

ἀποθνήσκειν· συγγινώμεναι δὲ ἐν τῷ νύμφῳ, καὶ ὑπομένειν, καὶ χρεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀνίστασθαι, καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι Lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 250.

\* Quod si anima immortalis occidi aut interfici non potest in quovis alio licet (cum scilicet) corpus et caro sola possit interfici, quanto magis utique verbum Dei, et Deus in Christo, interfici omnino non potuit; cum caro sola et corpus occisum sit—Per hæc colligitur non nisi hominem in Christo interfectum appareat, ad mortalitatem sermonem in loco (in illo) non esse deductum. Cap. 25. p. 194. Ed. Jackson.

Tertullian

Tertullian always supposes the same. Speaking of Christ's saying, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," "this voice," says he, "was from the flesh, and the soul, that is, the man, and not of the word or the spirit, that is, not of the God; and was uttered to shew that God was impassible, who thus left the Son, and gave up his man to death\*. In Christ," he says, "writing against the Gnostics, we find a soul and flesh in plain and express terms; that is, the soul is a soul, and the flesh flesh. Had the soul been flesh, or the flesh a soul, they ought to have been so called†."

Origen, who has been supposed to be a favourer of Arianism, exactly follows these

\* Sed hæc vox carnis et animæ, id est hominis: non sermonis; nec spiritus, id est non Dei, propterea emissæ est, ut impassibilem Deum ostenderit, qui sic filium dereliquit, dum hominem ejus tradidit in mortem. Ad Præxeam, sect. 30. p. 518.

† In Christo vero invenimus animam et carnem, simplicibus et nudis vocabulis editas; id est, animam animam, et carnem carnem; nusquam animam carnem, aut carnem animam: quando ita nominari debuissent. De carne Christi, sect. 15. p. 318.



writers in this doctrine\*. I shall select a few passages from him. "He whom  
 "we are persuaded to have been from  
 "the beginning God, and with God, he is  
 "the very logos, the very wisdom, and  
 "the very truth. He took a mortal body  
 "and a human soul, and by uniting and  
 "mixing them with himself, made them  
 "partake of his divinity†." "Christ not  
 "only preached in the body, but his soul,  
 "freed from the body, preached to other  
 "souls, likewise freed from the body, that  
 "would be converted to himself‡." In answer to Celsus, who had said that "if God,  
 "the immortal logos, took the mortal  
 "body and the soul of man, he would be  
 "subject to change," Origen says, "Let

\* See his treatise against Celsus, p. 62, 63, 64. 128. and many other places.

† Ομως δε ισωσαν οι εθεσθηντες, οτι ου μεν νομιζομεν κ' πεποιησμεθα αρχηθεν ειναι θεον κ' υιον θεου, αυτος ο αυλολογος εστι κ' η αυλοσοφια κ' η αυλοαληθεια. Το δε θνητον αυτου σωμα, κ' την ανθρωπινην εν αυτω ψυχην, τη προς εκεινο ε μονον κοινωνια, αλλα κ' ενωσει κ' ανακρασει, τα μεγαλα φαιμεν προσειδωφεναι, κ' της εκεινη θειοτης νεκοινωνησθαι, εις θεον μεταβεβηκειναι. Lib. 3. p. 136.

‡ Και γυμνη σωματος γενομενη ψυχη, ταις γυμναις σωματων ωμιλει ψυχαις, επιστρεφων ηακεινων τας βελομενας προς αυτην. Lib. 2. p. 85.

" him

“him learn, that the logos, remaining  
 “essentially the logos, suffers nothing of  
 “what the body or the soul feels\*.” In  
 his Commentaries on Matthew, he says, that  
 “Christ increased in wisdom with respect  
 “to his human soul†.”

Socrates the historian, giving an account  
 of a synod held at Alexandria, at which  
 Athanasius attended, says, “It was there  
 “agreed, that when Christ became incar-  
 “nate, he took not only flesh, but also the  
 “soul of man, which was the opinion of  
 “all the ancient divines. For they did not  
 “think that they were introducing a new  
 “doctrine into the church, but what was  
 “agreeable to ecclesiastical tradition among  
 “christian philosophers. This was the  
 “doctrine of all the ancient writers, who  
 “have mentioned the subject. For cer-  
 “tainly Irenæus, Clemens, Apollinarius of

\* Εἰ δὲ καὶ σῶμα θνητὸν καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπινην ἀναλαμβάνων ὁ ἀθάνατος  
 λόγος, δύναιτο τῷ Κεῖσῳ ἀλλοτρίεσθαι καὶ μεταπηλαίεσθαι, μανθάνειν  
 οὐκ ὁ λόγος τῇ φύσει μεγάλων λόγος ἔδει μὲν παύσαι ὡς παύσαι το σῶμα  
 ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν. Lib 4. p. 170.

† Καὶ εἰς γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς σῶσιντος ἀναλαμβάνοντος ἀνθρώπινην  
 ψυχὴν το ὁ Ἰησοῦς προεκοπήεν, Vol. 1. p. 330.



“ Hierapolis, and Serapion bishop of Antioch, shew by their writings, that they considered it as a thing universally acknowledged, that when Christ became incarnate he had a soul. The council which was assembled on the account of Beryllus, of Alexandria in Arabia, in their letters to Beryllus, shew the same thing; and Origen frequently, in his writings, acknowledged Christ to have a soul \*.”

Indeed, as I have observed, had some of the Fathers had one opinion on this subject, and some another, it could not have failed to occasion a discussion of the point,

\* Καὶ τὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, ἔ μόνον ἐνσαρκον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμφυχωμένον ἀπεφθηναντὸ, ἢ καὶ πάλαι τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐδοκεῖ. ἔ γὰρ νεαρὰν τινα θρησκείαν ἐπινόησαντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσηγάγον, ἀλλὰ ἀπερ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ παράδοσις ἐλέγε, καὶ ἀποδείκνυται παρὰ τοῖς χριστιανῶν σοφοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν. εἴθ' ἂν πάντες οἱ παλαιότεροι περὶ τῆς λόγον γυμνασίας, ἐγράψον ἡμῖν κατελείπον. καὶ γὰρ Εἰρηναῖος τε καὶ Κλήμης, Ἀπολινάριος τε ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης, καὶ Σαραπίων ὁ τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ προεστὴς ἐκκλησίας, ἐμφύχον τὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα. ἐν τοῖς προηγουμένοις αὐτοῖς λόγοις ὡς ὁμολογούμενον αὐτοῖς φασκέναι. ἔ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ διὰ Βηρύλλον τὸν φιλαδελφίας τῆς ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ ἐπισκοπὸν γενομένη συνόδος γράψασα Βηρύλλῳ τὰ αὐτὰ παραδεδωκεν. Ὁριγενὴς δὲ πάντα καὶ μὲν ἐν τοῖς φερόμενοις αὐτῇ βιβλίοις, ἐμφύχον τὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα οἶδεν. Lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 178.

and

and

and warm controversy, before the time of Arius. It is to this day, also, the received opinion of all those who are called orthodox, that Christ has a proper human soul; and the Arians still are the only christians who deny this.

As this doctrine of Christ having a proper human soul, together with that of the real origin and nature of the logos, is of so much consequence to the system of Arianism, I have carefully attended to every thing that I could find to have been advanced by any Arians on the subject. But to my great surprize, I have hardly found that it has been so much as noticed by them, except by Mr. Whiston, who, in his *Collection of ancient Monuments relating to the Trinity*, without mentioning any other authority whatever, infers from there being no express mention of a human soul in Christ in two particular treatises of Athanasius, viz. that *against the Gentiles*, and that *on the Incarnation*, that "this Father seems  
" as if he had never heard of such a no-  
" tion among christians at all." P. 74. He adds, " I solemnly appeal to the unbiassed



“ reader, after he has carefully perused the  
“ whole discourse, whether he can believe  
“ that Athanasius owned a human rational  
“ soul, as assumed by the word at the in-  
“ carnation, when he wrote that treatise.”  
He then concludes with asserting, that “ the  
“ acknowledgment of a human and ra-  
“ tional soul in Christ, distinguished from  
“ his divine nature, was one of the last  
“ branches of the Athanasian heresy.”

That this writer was aware of the importance of this fact is very evident. “ It is  
“ indisputable,” he says, “ and is agreed  
“ on by all, that in case our Saviour did  
“ not assume a human rational soul at his in-  
“ carnation, the common orthodoxy cannot  
“ possibly be defended.” But if he did, the  
Arian hypothesis must fall to the ground.

Now, certainly, it cannot follow that  
because express mention is not made of the  
human soul of Christ in two particular  
treatises, that the author did not allow, and  
had not even heard of such a thing. In-  
deed, I do not see that Athanasius had any  
particular occasion to mention it in these  
treatises. For it was the *body of Christ*, and the

the infirmities of such a body, that was the great objection to christianity, which he was endeavouring to answer; and therefore he dwells upon the necessity of Christ taking such a body. But in several parts of these very treatises, and even some of those that are marked by Mr. Whiston himself, as most favourable to his own conclusion, the human soul of Christ seems to be hinted at; as when the *logos* is said to have assumed, or to have been united to *the man*, or *human nature* in general, and not the body in particular. “When human nature “was gone astray,” he says, “the word “took possession of it, and appeared as a “man, that he might save it from its dangerous state, by his governing power and “goodness\*.”

But what is sufficiently decisive in favour of Athanasius, as well as all his predecessors believing that Christ had a proper human soul is that the *logos*, according to his and their description of it, could not supply the

\* Τι απιστον λεγεται παρ ημων, ει, πλανημενης της ανθρωποτητος, εγκαθισεν ο λογος επι ταυτην κ' ανθρωπος επιφανη, ινα χειμαζομενην αυτην περισωσιν δια της κυβερνησεως αυτης κ' αγαθητης. P. 97



place of one, because it was the proper *wisdom of the Father*, and consequently incapable of suffering, which was always supposed to be one end of the incarnation. The following are descriptions of the *logos*, in these very treatises, and in Mr. Whiston's own translation.

“ But God the word was not of this nature in man; for he was not bound fast to the body, but did himself rather hold it together, when he was therein; and also was at the same time present to all things, and was without the beings that exist, and rested alone in his Father\*.”

“ He is the good product of a good being, and the true Son, and is therefore the power, wisdom, and word of the Father; and is not such by participation. Nor are those qualities external, or adventitious to him, as is the case of those that are partakers of them, and are instructed by him, and become powerful and rational through him. But he is pe-

\* Ου γαρ συνεδέδετο τῷ σώματι ἀλλὰ μάλλον αὐτὸς ἐκρατεῖ τὸ το, ὥς ἐν τῷ ἡν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πασὶν ἐτυχάνει, καὶ ἐξω τῶν ὄντων ἡν, καὶ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ πατρὶ ἀνέπαυετο. Sect. 17. p. 70.

“ cularly

“culiarly the real wisdom, the real word,  
“the real power of the Father, &c. \*”

Athanasius, moreover, in the treatise on the incarnation, expressly says, that the *logos* was incapable of suffering, as indeed being of a divine nature it could never be supposed to be. “He himself was not  
“hurt at all, as being impassible and the  
“real word of God †.”

It is acknowledged that Justin Martyr and Irenæus (but I do not know that it is true of any others) speak of the *logos* suffering. The former says, that “the *logos* was  
“preached as suffering ‡.” And the latter says “the *logos* of God became flesh, and  
“suffered. ||.” But as both these writers supposed that Christ had a human soul,

\* Και οτι αγαθον εξ αγαθου γενημα, και αληθινος υιος υπαρχων, δυναμις εσι τε πατρος, και σοφια, και λογος, & κατα μετοχην ταυτα ων, ουδε ειωθεν επιγινομενων τετων αυτου κατα τις αυτη μετεχουτες και σοφιζομενες δι αυτου, και δυνατης και λογικης εν αυτω γινομενης, αλλ' αυτοσοφια, αυτολογος, αυτοδυναμις ιδ'ια τε πατρος, εστιν. Ad Gentes, p. 31.

† Εβλαπτετο μεν γαρ αυτος δει, απαθης και αφδαρτος, και αυτολοος ων, και θεος. Sect. 54. p. 108.

‡ Κηρυχθεντα δι' αυτων παθοντα λογον. Dial. In Jackson on Novatian, p. 357.

|| Δια τι ο λογος σαρκ' εγενετο και επαθεν. Lib. 1. cap. 4. P. 47.



proper for suffering, it is most probable that they only used the term *logos* in these places, as synonymous to *Christ* (that being in their opinion the most honourable part of him) whose soul and body only really suffered. This may be concluded with certainty to have been the case with respect to Irenæus, who expressly says, that the *logos* was *quiescent* in the sufferings of Christ; and therefore we can hardly doubt, but that Justin also, if he had had any occasion to explain himself on the subject, would have said the same.

It is possible, however, though not probable, that some persons might imagine, that the *logos*, being intimately united to the soul and body of a man, might, in some sense, partake in their sufferings. But as both these writers held that Christ had a human soul, it is evident that they did not consider the *sufferings of the logos*, in whatever sense they might use that expression, as implying that a human soul was not necessary to Christ; and, therefore, I do not see how Arians can derive any advantage from it, as used by them.

Also,

Also, to make Irenæus consistent with himself, we must suppose that when, in opposition to the Gnostics, he said that it was *Christ* and not *Jesus* only that suffered, he only meant to say, that there was no such super-angelic being as they held, which flew away from Jesus when he was upon the cross; but that the logos, which had been united to him before, continued still united to him, even in his sufferings, though he did not properly partake of them. This agrees with his saying that the logos was *quiescent* in his sufferings, meaning perhaps that he did not interpose to prevent, or alleviate them.

Mr. Jackson considers these casual expressions of Justin Martyr and Irenæus as circumstances by which we may discover the true doctrine of the apostolic age\*. But this is a conjecture unsupported by any other fact or circumstance whatever. And it is highly improbable, on several accounts, that christians of the apostolic age should have supposed that Christ had no other

\* Adnotationes in Novatianum, p. 356.

than



than a created soul, and that this soul was the *logos*, and that all the writers from that time till the council of Nice should invariably hold that the *logos* was *uncreated*, and that Christ had a human soul besides the *logos*, without any discussion of the subject, without any controversy; when it is known that, from the first appearance of the Gnostics, all the christian world were so attentive to every opinion concerning the person of Christ.

Origen, Tertullian, and others, who wrote not long after Irenæus, expressly say that the *logos* could not suffer, as Irenæus himself says in effect; and they write in such a manner on the subject, as if they considered it to be the universal opinion. It may be presumed therefore, that these writers did not imagine that Justin Martyr, or any other christian writer held any other opinion on the subject.

Mr. Jackson might have found much stronger language than what he has quoted from Justin Martyr, or Irenæus, concerning the suffering of Christ as God, in Cassian, and others who wrote in the Nestorian controversy

troverfy (as will be feen when I confider that fubject) and yet when they were charged with afferting that the logos itfelf really fuffered, they ftrongly difclaim having had any fuch meaning. Cyril of Alexandria fays, "they were charged with afferting that the logos fuffered, but that no one was ever fo mad as to fuppofe it\*." What Cyril here fays of himfelf and his friends, was, I doubt not, true of Juftin Martyr, who fpeaks as highly of the logos as Cyril or any chriftian writer whatever, making it to have been an attribute of the Father; and therefore he muft have thought it to be as incapable of proper fuffering, as the Father himfelf.

It will likewise appear highly improbable, that any perfons near the apoftolic age fhould have confidered Chrift as having a *created logos* in the place of a human foul, if it be confidered, that the opinion of all

\* Proæmium vero in maledicta ab hæreticis tanquam acerbe facta invehitur, et velut ostendere conatur, corpus effe quod paffum eft, non Deus verbum, quafi fint qui dicant verbum Dei, quod nulli eft paffioni obnoxium, paffioni effe fubjectum. Sed nemo ufque adeo infanit, ut hoc dicat. Epift. 6. Opera, vol. 2. p. 17.



the Jews at the time of the promulgation of the gospel was, that the Messiah was a *mere man*, and that the apostles did not, for some time at least, preach any other doctrine, as will be abundantly proved in its proper place. How, then, was there time, in the nature of things, for the christian world in general to have passed from this opinion, first to that of Christ having had a pre-existent soul, capable of creating all things; then, before the time of Justin Martyr, have imagined that soul to have been *uncreated*, the proper logos or wisdom of the Father, and again to have super-added a proper human soul, such as they first began with to this logos. The very mention of such an hypothesis as this is, I should think, sufficient to expose it.

Upon the whole, I cannot help thinking that there is the strongest evidence that the Antenicene Fathers believed that Christ had a proper human soul, as well as a human body; their logos being such as could not supply the place of it, being that *power* which, at the very time that it was incarnate, supported all things, and was even

then as much in the Father as ever it had been. Consequently, those Fathers could not have been Arians.

That the soul which the Fathers ascribed to Christ, beside the logos, was a proper human soul, and not merely the *sensitive soul* of some philosophers, is evident from *the man* being said by them to consist of this *soul* and a *body*, a kind of definition in which the term *soul* always expressed every thing belonging to a man that was not body. This will have been observed to be the case with respect to Irenæus.

Those philosophers who, following the principles of Plato, maintained that man has *two souls*, gave Christ two souls also, and disposed of them according to their respective natures. "Christ," said Theophylact, "was in paradise not only as God, " but also in his rational and intellectual " soul; and the animal soul only was in " hell\*."

\* Καὶ γὰρ ὁ μόνος καὶ θεὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ παράδεισῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθὼς ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴν προσελάβετο λογικὴν καὶ γινώσκουσαν, καὶ ἐν τῷ παράδεισῳ ἦν.  
γεγονε



To the soul of Christ Origen gave the peculiar power of quitting its body, and returning to it again, whenever it pleased; meaning, that the logos dismissed the soul, and re-united it to the body. "Christ," says he, "did not die according to the common course of nature, but by the exertion of a power given him by God for that purpose†." He says, that his soul both left the body, and returned to it again at his own pleasure‡. The same sentiment is also advanced by Cyprian, who says, that "Christ being crucified, preventing the office of the execu-

γεγονε μελα τε νοος. κ; εις αδε κατηλθε μελα ψυχης. In. Luc. cap. 23. Opera, vol. 1. p. 535.

† Ελεγε δε ο εμος Ιησους περι της εαυτης ψυχης (ε καλα το ανθρωπινον χρεων χωριζομενης τε σωματος, αλλα καλα την δοθεισαν αυτω κ; περι τω παραδοξον εξεσιαν) το, εδεις αιρει την ψυχην μου απο εμου, αλλα εγω τιδημι αυτην απ' εμαυτης. Ad Celsum, lib. 2. p. 130.

‡ Και περι την εαυτης τελευτην ειχε τι πλειον· ινα εμυστα μιν το σωμα καλαστη η ψυχη, οικονομησαμενη δε τινα εξω αυτης, παλιν επανελθουσι βελειται· τοιςιον δ' αναγεγραπται παρα τω Ιωαννη ειρηκειται ο Ιησους λογον, εν τω, εδεις αιρει την ψυχην μου απο εμου, αλλ' εγω τιδημι αυτην απ' εμαυτης. Εξεσιαν εχω δειναι αυτην, κ; παλιν εξεσιαν εχω λαβειν αυτην. Ibid. lib. 2. p. 70.

tioner.

“tioner, of his own accord dismissed his  
 “spirit, and on the third day he, of his  
 “own accord, rose from the dead \*.” This  
 doctrine is still held by many modern  
 Arians, though it is highly derogatory  
 from the character of Christ, and destroys  
 the force of his example, in suffering; as  
 it supposes that he had a power of putting  
 an end to his torments, and consequently  
 of lessening the agony of them, which his  
 followers had not.

Anastasius Sanaita says, that Christ gave  
 his soul a peculiar privilege, above that  
 which was given to Adam, which was only  
 “the breath of God. For the soul of  
 “Immanuel had its essence in God, with  
 “God, and like God †.”

\* Nam et crucifixus, prævento carnificis officio spiritum sponte dimisit, et die tertio rursus a mortuis sponte, surrexit. De Idolorum Vanitate, p. 16.

† Η μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀδαμ ψυχῆς ἐκ θεοῦ τὴν ὑπάρξιν διὰ τῆς ἐμφύσεως ἔσχευεν. ἡ δὲ τῆς Ἐμμανουὴλ ψυχῆς εὐθεὺς, καὶ συνθεὺς, καὶ ὁμοθεὺς ἔσχευεν. Ibid. p. 66.



## CHAPTER VII.

*Of the Union between the Logos, and the Soul and Body of Christ, and their separate properties.*

## SECTION I.

*Of this Union in general.*

SEVERAL curious questions may be started with respect to the union between the divine logos and the soul and body of Christ. For this union was always represented as being equally strict with that which subsists between the soul and body of man; the maxim being, that as the soul and body make one man, so God and man make one Christ. Austin says, "God mixed with man makes Christ, as the soul and body make a man\*." On this system, a

\* Sicut in unitate personæ anima unitur corpori ut homo fit, ita in unitate personæ Deus unitur homini, ut Christus fit.

considerable difficulty occurred. It was a maxim that the properties of divinity could not be impaired by any circumstance whatever, the divine nature being absolutely unchangeable. It was, therefore, contrary to all reason, supposed that the human nature was a gainer by the union, and the divine nature no loser. "Christ," says Eusebius, "imparted of his divine nature to man, but did not receive the properties of mortal nature\*." This he compares to the sun, the light of which is not contaminated by shining on dirty objects. In this indeed he had not a view to the body of Christ in particular, but to *human nature* in general, which was benefited by the union of *divinity*, while this was no loser; but there can be no doubt but he had the same idea with respect to the union of the logos to a single man. They did not however, suppose that the human nature of Christ was materially changed by its union with

fit. Quomodo est enim unus homo anima et corpus, sic unus Christus verbum et homo. In Johan. Tr. 48. Opera, vol. 9, p. 349.

\* Αλλα τα μεν εστι αυτου παραδιδου το ανθρωπου, τα δ' εκ τα δικη μη αυτου μεταβαλλονται. De Laudibus Const. p. 761.



the divine nature. "As the introduction of fire," says Basil, "does not alter the property of iron, so the divinity makes no change in the body of Christ\*."

When the doctrine was more advanced, it was maintained that "the whole of the divinity of Christ was united to the whole of the humanity, and not part to part," as we read in Damascenus†. This was agreeable to the established maxim with respect to the union between the soul and body of man.

So very different were the divine and human natures of Christ conceived to be, and yet so necessary was it, for the purpose of the orthodox christian Fathers, to make an union between them, that no embarrassment or discordance of opinion among them can

\* Πως εν φησι της σωματικης ασθενειας ο θεος λογος εν ενεπληρωθη-  
φαιμεν, ως εδε το πυρ των τε σιδηρου ιδωμάτων μελαγχμαται· μελας ο  
σιδηρος κ' ψυχρος· αλλ' ομως πυραελωδεις την τε πυρος μορphen υπο-  
δνεται, αυλος λαμπρυνόμενος εχει μελαινων το πυρ, κ' αυλος εκφλογεμενος  
εν αποψυχων την φλογα. Hbm. 25. Opera, vol. 1. p. 507.

† In incarnatione unius ex sanctæ trinitatis personis Dei verbi, totam ac perfectam divinitatis naturam cum tota humana natura copulatam fuisse dicimus, ac non partem cum parte. Orthod. Fid. lib. 3. cap. 5. Opera, p. 375.

surprise us. Epiphanius must have considered the soul of Christ as having had but little proper union with his divinity, when he supposed that while he was on the cross the former prayed to the latter\*. Fulgentius says that, "when the human nature of Christ suffered, the divine nature did not even feel compassion, any more than the soul of Christ died when the body did †." The same writer, however, supposes that, though the soul of Christ did not know the Father, it had a perfect knowledge of the divinity of the Son, with which it made one person ‡.

As a man consists of two parts, it was necessary, in order to complete this system,

\* Ως εν η κηνησις κλως εγενετο, απο προσωπου της ενανθρωπησιως, η φωνη ελεγεν αυτη τη ιδια θεοτητι. See με, See με, ιωσι με εγκλισητες. Hær. 69. p. 789.

† Et in homine toto patiens, non est divina natura compassa, sicut moriente carne, non solum deitas, sed nec anima Christi potest ostendi commortua. Ad Trasimundum, lib. 3. cap. 18. p. 471.

‡ Et quia unigenitus Deus æqualis est patri, nec potest totum nosse filium, qui totum non noverit patrem, caveamus, ne cum anima Christi totum patrem nosse non creditur, ipse uni Christo ex aliqua parte, non solum patris, sed etiam sui, et spiritus sancti cognitio denegetur. Quam vero



that the logos should be united to the body, as well as to the soul of Christ. Accordingly we read, in the account of the embassy to the Armenians. That "the divinity of Christ was never separated from his body, "or his soul\*." Even the death of the body was not supposed to break this union. "The divinity of Christ," says Damascenus, "was not separated from the body of Christ even in death. Even in that state, "all the three made but one hypostasis, "Neither the soul nor the body had any "peculiar hypostasis of its own. It was "only the hypostasis of Christ†."

perdurum est, et a sanitate fidei penitus alienum, ut dicamus animam Christi non plenam suæ deitatis habere notitiam, cum qua naturaliter unam creditur habere personam. Ad Ferrandum, Qu. 3. p. 627.

\* Quum ergo divinitas ejus nunquam nec a corpore, nec ab anima dirempta fuit Bib. Pat. App. p. 1830.

† Quamvis igitur Christus, ut homo, mortem obierit, sanctaque ipsius anima ab immaculato corpore distracta sit: divinitas tamen a neutro, hoc est nec ab anima, nec a corpore, quoque modo sejuncta est: neque propterea persona una in duas personas divisa est. Si quidem et corpus, et anima, ab initio in verbi persona eodem momento extiterunt: ac licet in morte divulsa fuerint, utrumque tamen eorum unam verbi hypostasim perpetuo habuit. Quamobrem una eademque verbi hypostasis tum verbi, tum animæ,

“What God has joined,” says Fulgentius, “let not man put asunder. Wherefore,” he says, “not that the body of Jesus, but that *Jesus* was laid in the sepulchre; for he knew that the God who assumed the whole man was wholly with his flesh in the sepulchre, wholly with his soul in hell, &c\*.”

This, however, was a refinement of later ages, for originally it was supposed that the logos, as well as the soul, quitted the body at its death. This is expressly said by Eusebius†.

mæ, tum corporis hypostasis erat. Neque enim unquam, aut anima, aut corpus, peculiarem atque a verbi hypostasi diversam hypostasim habuit: verum una semper fuit verbi hypostasis, ac nunquam duæ. Ac proinde una quoque semper Christi hypostasis fuit. *Orthod. Fid. lib. 3. cap. 27. Opera, p. 430.*

\* Et quia quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separat, propterea non corpus Jesu, sed Jesum dicit in monumento positum: sciebat enim quod ille susceptor pleni hominis Deus, totus esset cum carne sua in sepulchro, totus cum anima sua in inferno, totus in mundo, totus in cœlo, totus in unitate naturæ in patre, de quo exivit, totus per omnipotentiam divinitatis suæ in tota creatura quam fecit. *Ad Irasimundum, lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 474.*

† Ο των όλων ζωοποιος τε θεος λογος—το μεν σωμα προς βραχυη αιωνων. *De Laudibus Const. sect. 15. p. 764.*



As the soul and the body of Christ retained their separate properties, the divine logos was also supposed to retain all its peculiar and extraordinary powers, and its former functions, so as to lose nothing of its omnipresence, and its active power in supporting the world. "Let us not," says Origen, "say in our hearts that Christ is "contained in any place, and is not every "where, and diffused through all things; "for when he was on earth he said that he "was in heaven\*." "At the very time," says Eusebius, "that Christ was conversing "on earth, he filled all things, and was "with the Father, and administered the "affairs of the universe, things in heaven "and things on earth†." "He is a crying "infant," says Hilary, "and yet in hea-

\* Ne felicit dicamus in corde nostro et putemus quod Christus in aliquo continetur, et non ubique est, ac per omnia ipse diffunditur; quippe qui cum esset in terris dicebat quia esset et in cœlo. In Rom. Opera, vol. 2. p. 585.

† Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῖς καθ' οὐ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπολιτεῖτο, τὰ πάντα πληρῶς, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνῆν· καὶ ἐν αἰῶνι γένη, καὶ τῶν πάντων ἀθροῦς ἐν τῷ τοῖς, τῶν τε καὶ ἄρα καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐπεμελεῖτο, De Laudibus Const. p. 761.

"ven;

“ven; he increases in wisdom, and is the  
“God of fulness\*.”

“He was not,” says Athanasius, “circumscribed by the body, nor was he so  
“in the body, as not to be every where.  
“Nor did he so actuate the body, as that  
“other things were deprived of his providential care. But what is wonderful,  
“being the logos, he was not contained by  
“any thing, but rather himself contained  
“every thing †.”

Fulgentius represents Christ as “wholly  
“in the Father, as well as wholly out of  
“him. He was wholly,” he says, “in the  
“virgin’s womb when he was building  
“himself a house, as we read, Prov. 8.  
“He was wholly in heaven, wholly in the  
“world, and wholly even in hell ‡.”

\* Vagit infans, sed in cœlo est; puer crescit, sed plenitudinis Deus permanet. De Trinitate, lib. 10. p. 260.

† Ου γὰρ περιελεῖσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι, ὅδε ἐν σώματι μὲν τὴν, ἀλλὰ χροε δὲ καὶ τὴν, ὅδε ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐκεῖν· ἀλλὰ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς προνοίας ἐπερείο· ἀλλὰ τὸ παραδοξολογῶν, λόγος ὢν, καὶ συνεκτελεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ τίνος, συνεκτελεῖται δὲ τὰ πάντα πολλὸν αὐτός. De Incarnatione, Opera, vol. 1. p. 69.

‡ Neque enim pars ejus remansit in patre, et pars ejus descendit in virginem, cum totus in patre maneret quod erat, et totus in virgine fieret, quod non erat; totus cum



Here I would observe, that the opinion of Christ retaining all his divine powers while he was on earth, held by Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, and all the ancients, is a proof, that, in their opinion, the logos was no created spirit, or any principle that could be confined in its operations, by any circumstances in which it could be placed. Otherwise, as they found that, when Christ was upon earth, he applied to his Father upon all occasions, they would have more naturally thought that his own proper powers were suspended; and that the function which he had before discharged was for a time discontinued, or transferred to some other, which seems to be the opinion of all the modern Arians, and certainly best agrees with their principles. For what occasion had Christ to apply to his Father, to enable him to do nothing more than his own natural powers could

patre totum implens et continens mundum, totus sibi in utero virginis ædificans domum; scriptum est enim, sapientia ædificavit sibi domum; totus in patre sempiterno, totus in homine suscepto, totus in cælo, totus in mundo, totus etiam in inferno. *Ad Trasimundum, lib. 3. cap. 8. p. 468.*

have

have performed, if those powers had been at liberty, and if he had continued to have the full use of them. We never think of praying to God for power to move our hands or feet, whenever we have occasion to make use of them, though we daily thank God for having given us that power. We know, and feel, that it is a power at the command of our own will, and therefore we look no farther than to ourselves for the immediate exercise of it. The same would necessarily have been the case with Christ, if he had cured diseases, and raised the dead, by a power as properly his own, and as much at his command, as that by which we move our limbs. His praying to the Father, therefore, and the miracles that he wrought being ascribed to the Father, who only, as he said, did these works, is a proof that, while he was on earth, he had not the power of doing them himself. Yet, contrary to the plainest evidence, all the ancient Fathers supposed that Christ then had that power, and they made his exertion of it a proof of his divinity.



## SECTION II.

*Of the Ignorance of Christ concerning the Day of Judgment.*

A Peculiarly difficult question occurs with respect to the union of the divine nature of Christ to his human soul; for as both were capable of knowledge, it might be supposed that, whatever was known to the one, must also have been known to the other, if there was any proper *union* between them. This consequence was so natural, that it would, I doubt not, have been maintained, if it had not been said, (Luke ii. 52.) that Jesus *increased in wisdom*, and our Lord had not so expressly said, that he did not know the time of the day of judgment.

With respect to the former, it seems to have been allowed, that the human soul of Christ acquired knowledge gradually, as other human souls do. But sometimes the Fathers show a confusion of ideas on the subject. Origen, who believed the pre-existence

pre-existence of all souls, but that they had lost all their attainments in their prior state, seems to have thought the same of the soul of Christ. "Jesus," he says, "not yet a man, because he had emptied himself, advanced [in wisdom]. For no one who is perfect can make advances, but we who stand in need of improvement\*."

In this Origen could not mean the *logos*, because he supposed that to be omniscient, and even omnipresent, while it was connected with Christ on earth.

Afterwards, it was generally thought that even the soul of Christ knew every thing, in consequence of its union to the *logos*, and that Christ's knowledge showing itself more and more was all that was meant by his increasing in wisdom. This is expressed by Nicephorus †.

\* *Ἰησους ἔτι ἀνὴρ γενομενος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παιδίου ὄν, ἔπει ἐκενώσεν ἑαυτὸν, προεκοπήν. ἡδεὶς προκοπῇ τελειωμενος, ἀλλὰ προκοπῇ δεομενῶ προκοπῆς.* In Jerom. Hom. i. Comment. vol. i. p. 57.

† *Ἰησους δὲ προεκοπή σοφίᾳ καὶ χάριτι, τῷ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτὰ παραδεικνυσθαι, καὶ τῷ λαμβάνειν ἐκιδύσιν.* Hist. lib. i. cap. 14. vol. i. p. 79.



As Christ expressly says, that he did not know the day of judgment, he certainly either was, or pretended to be, ignorant of something which, at least in his divine nature, he must have known. Here, then, is a question, worthy of an Apollo to answer; and it may be amusing to observe what different solutions have been given of this difficulty.

Irenæus evidently supposed, that the time of the day of judgment was altogether unknown to the Son, and he advises us to acquiesce in our ignorance of many things, after his example\*. “If any one,” says he, “asks the reason why the Father, who communicates every thing to the Son, is alone said to know the day and the

\* Irrationabilitur autem inflati, audaciter inenarrabilia dei mysteria scire vos dicitis: quandoquidem et dominus, ipse filius Dei, ipsum judicii diem et horam concessit scire solum patrem, manifeste dicens: de die autem illa, et hora nemo scit neque filius, nisi pater solus. Si igitur scientiam diei illius filius non erubuit referre ad patrem, sed dixit quod verum est; neque nos erubescimus, quæ sunt in questionibus majora secundum nos, reservare Deo. Lib. 1. cap. 48. p. 176.

“hour

“ hour of the future judgment, no better  
 “ reason can be given but that we may  
 “ learn of our Lord himself, that the Fa-  
 “ ther is above all ; for he said, the Fa-  
 “ ther is greater than I \*.”

This being the earliest account that we have of any interpretation of this text, is a most unfavourable circumstance to the orthodox. It looks as if, at that time, whatever might be pretended concerning the super-human nature of Christ, the general opinion was, that he was wholly ignorant of the time of the future judgment. The fact must have been, that the doctrine of the divine logos in Christ was not received by the generality of christians, and though adopted by the philosophers among them, had not been pursued to its proper consequences. Otherwise, it could not but have been applied to this case, as

\* Et enim si quis exquirat causam, propter quam in omnibus pater communicans filio, solus scire horam et diem a domino manifestatus est ; neque aptabilem magis, neque decentiorem, nec sine periculo alteram quam hanc inveniat in presenti (quoniam enim solus verax magister est dominus) ut discamus per ipsum, super omnia esse patrem. Et enim pater, ait, major me est. Lib. 2. cap. 49. p. 178.

well



well as to many others, which in due time it was.

The next interpretation of this passage that I have met with is that of Origen; and he did not hesitate to pronounce that Christ certainly did know what he professed not to know. "Christ," says he, "being the truth, cannot be ignorant of any thing that is true \*." "Have ye understood all these things? He did not ask this question because he was ignorant, but having assumed human nature, he did every thing that belongs to man, one of which is to ask questions †." This implies that even the human soul of Christ was acquainted with every thing, but that he feigned ignorance; and this we find to have been a pretty common interpretation. According to Hilary, "Christ knew the time of the future judgment, but pretended ignorance, because it was not time

\* *Ἐπισαίον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆ ἀληθείας εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρα, καὶ προσαίον ὅτι ἐν ὁλοκληρῷ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀληθεία καὶ οὐκ ἀληθεύει ἀγνοεῖ.* Comment. vol. 2. p. 28.

† Non ignarus interrogat, sed quoniam semel assumpsit hominem, utitur omnibus quæ sunt hominis. Quorum unum illud est interrogare. Opera, vol. 2. p. 11.

“to discover it\*.” In another place, he says, “the Son is said not to know the day of judgment, because he does not speak of it, and that the Father only knows it, because he only speaks of it to him†.”

Didymus of Alexandria says, that “ignorance of the day of judgment is ascribed to Christ, as forgetfulness, repentance, &c. are ascribed to God, viz. for the sake of the hearers‡.” “If God,” says Cyril of Alexandria, “affected ignorance of where Adam was, and of what Cain had

\* In omnibus enim quæ ignorare se Deus loquitur, ignorantiam quidem profitetur, sed ignoratione tamen non detinetur; dum id quod nescit, non nesciendi infirmitas est, sed aut tempus est non loquendi, aut dispensatio est non agendi. Lib. 9. p. 226.

† Filius itaque diem idcirco quia tacet nescit, et patrem solum idcirco scire ait, quia solus uni sibi non tacet. Lib. 9. p. 231.

‡ Sicut enim cum Deus solus sit sapiens et scientiam habeat omnium, oblivio passibilis et penitentia aut aliquid huiusmodi in eo nequaquam existit, cum utique de eo dispensa vitæ dicantur. Ita ergo sapientia et veritate Dei ignorantiam non recipiente, propter quandam utilitatem horum, et diem iudicii dicitur ignorare, quorum singula aperte monstrabuntur, cum de his fuerit dicendi propositum. In Joan. cap. 2. Bib. Pat. vol. 6. p. 653.

“done,



“done, why should we wonder that the  
 “Son of God affected ignorance concern-  
 “ing the day of judgment;” adding, that  
 “Christ also affected ignorance, when he  
 “asked how many loaves his disciples  
 “had\*.” Theophylact says, that “Christ  
 “pretended not to know the day of judg-  
 “ment, to put an end to his disciples  
 “teazing him; as fathers, when they see  
 “their children crying for a thing which  
 “they do not chuse to give them, will hide  
 “it, and then show their hands empty, as  
 “if they had it not†.”

\* Sed respondeant quæso, quando Deus in Paradiso Adam patrem nostrum vocabat dicens: Adam Adam ubi es? et quando Cain interrogabat: Ubi est Abel frater tuus? quid dicent? nam si ignorantem Deum interrogasse affirmabunt, manifesta impietate tenebuntur; sin autem dispensationis modo quodam sic interrogasse Deum dicent, cur mirantur si filius quoque Dei, per quem etiam tunc facta interrogatio est, utiliter dispensans ignorare se dicit horam illam ut homo, quamvis universa sciat ut sapientia patris? quod autem dispensative solebat ignorantiam sibi attribuere salvator, manifestè ab ipso evangelista in alio loco dicitur. Nam quando miraculose multiplicatis panibus sequentes se voluit alere, ut ignorans interrogabat: quot panes habetis? Thesaurus, lib. 9. cap. 4. Opera, vol. 2. p. 292.

† Νυν δε, Κοφωλερον μεταχειριζεσθαι, & αντιγειναι αυτους οδους τα εστιν  
 ωδην & τροχον αυτων, ου τω εντειν ολι σις οι αυτεσται, σις ευν οιδαν.

We have two answers of Epiphanius to this question, one of which seems to imply that Christ feigned ignorance. "If," says he, "the Son knew the Father, which is the greatest of all, he must know the day of judgment. But it became a Son to honour his Father, that he might show that he was his own Son\*." The other solution implies a base equivocation on the part of our Saviour. "Christ," says he, "did not know the day of judgment; meaning that it had not taken place, the wicked not being punished†."

We have also two answers of Basil to this question, one of which likewise implies a

απο δε παραδειγματος τινος, νοησεις το λεγομενον. πολλαν τις παιδια μικρα βλέπασσι τας πατερας αυτων κρανίας τι εν ταις χερσι, κ' ζηησι τας. οι δε πατερες, ε βελονται δενα. τα δε, κλαυθυριζονται ως μη λαμβανοντα. τελευταιον μεντοι, οι πατερες κρυπτουσιν εκεινο ο κρανισι, κ' επιδεικνυντες τας χειρας κενας τοις παιδιοις, ισωσιν αυτα τα κλαυθμυ.

In Marc. 13. Opera, vol. 1. p. 267.

\* Πως εν ο τα μειζω ειδως των ελαττωγων υστερει· ει γινωσκει τοιοντον τον πατερα, γινωσκει παντως κ' την ημεραν. κ' ουδεν εστιν ε λειπειται καλα γνωσιν ο υιος. Εδει γαρ αληθως τον γνησιον υιον τιμαν τον ιδιον πατερα, ινα δεξη την γνησιότητα. Ancoratus, sect. 17. Opera, vol. 2. p. 23.

† Ουτω δε εγω αυτη καλα πραξιν, τελεσιν επω ενεργειν. ελ γαρ ασεβεις ασεβεσι, &c. Hær. 69. p. 769.



feigned ignorance. "Christ," says he, "concealed the day of judgment, because it was not convenient for men to be informed of it\*." But the other solution implies something else. "The Father knows the day of judgment in the first instance, being the cause of all knowledge†." Ambrose again has recourse to a feigned ignorance. "Christ, out of the great love that he bore to his disciples, thinking it useless to them to know what they enquired about, chose rather to seem to be ignorant than to deny them‡."

The answer of Austin is peculiar, implying, that our Saviour had recourse to an Hebrew idiom, in which the verb *to know*, may signify *to make others know*, as if he

\* Δια το μη συμφερεν εν τοις ανθρωποις αποκλειναι την ημεραν της κρισεως απεσιωπησεν. Ad Eunomium, Hom. 4. p. 770.

† Ουτω η το, εδεις οιδε, την πρωτην ειδησιν των τε ουλων η των εσομενων επι τον πατερα αναγοντος, η δια παων την πρωτην αιτιαν τοις ανθρωποις υποδεικνυντος ειρησθαι νομιζομεν. Epist. 391. Opera, vol. 3. p. 389.

‡ Mavult enim dominus nimio in discipulos amore propensus, petentibus his quæ cognitu inutilia judicaret, videri ignorare quod noverat quam negare. De Fide, lib. 5. cap. 7. Opera, vol. 4. p. 205.

had said, I do know myself, but I shall not tell you of it. "Christ," says he, "did not know the day of judgment, that is, he did not *make to know*, or discover it to others\*."

Photius seems to have considered ignorance as a property of human nature, and therefore to have thought that our Lord took it upon him of course when he became a man. "As a man," says he, "Christ did not reject that ignorance which became him as a man. He who took the whole, would he refuse to take any part, or not shew that he had taken it†?" This looks as if there was no communication between the divinity and the human soul of Christ; and on this supposition the orthodox of the present age endeavour to satisfy themselves and others; saying, that Christ knew all things as God, but was ignorant of many

\* Hoc enim nescit, quod nescientes facit, id est, quod non ita sciebat, ut tunc discipulis indicaret. De Trinitate, lib. 1. cap. 12. Opera, vol. 3. p. 253.

† Ως ανθρωπος δε, ηδε την ανθρωποις πρεπεισαν αγνοιαν, η μιν εν εκ ηθει . Ος γαρ δη τα ολον ειλεο λαβειν, πως εν τι των περι εκεινο παρηησαλο μη λαβειν, η μη πισυσθαι οτι παρεχοι λαβων. Epist. 228. p. 336.



things as man; and this was perhaps the meaning of Athanasius (if the *Fragments on the Psalms* be his) who said, "what he knows by nature as God, he is said to hear according to his human nature, and the œconomy\*."

Damascenus thought that the human soul of Christ, in consequence of the union and personal identity between the two natures, knew every thing, even future events†."

Gregory the Great has a very peculiar solution of this difficulty. He says that "Christ was ignorant of the day of judgment with respect to his body the church‡."

The most prudent of all the answers, is that of Leontius, who says, "the question

\* Οὐτω ὡς ἀπερ οἶδε φυσικῶς ὡς θεός, ταῦτα πάλιν ἀκρῶς λεγέσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον οἰκονομικῶς. Opera, vol. 2. p. 522.

† At domini anima, ob unionem cum ipso Deo verbo, æ personalem identitatem, ut reliquorum miraculorum, sic etiam futurarum, ut dixi, rerum notitiam consecuta est. Orthod. Fid. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 421.

‡ Quia diem et horam neque filius neque angeli sciunt: omnino recte vestra sanctitas sensit, quoniam non ad eundem filium, juxta hoc quod caput est, sed juxta corpus ejus nos quod sumus, est certissime referendum. Epist. cap. 42. Opera, vol. 2. p. 223. A.

“concerning Christ’s ignorance, is not to  
“be anxiously enquired into\*.”

It is Mark who asserts in the strongest manner that Christ was ignorant of the day of judgment; for he expressly says, chap. xiii. 32. *neither the Son, but the Father.* But Ambrose says, that the ancient Greeks had not the words *neither the Son* in that passage †.”

There was at Constantinople, a particular sect of those who maintained that, as a man, Christ did not know the day of judgment. They were therefore called *Agnoetæ*. But the orthodox opinion then was, that he knew it as a man, and Theodosius wrote against them ‡.

\* Nos autem dicimus non adeo de his subtiliter inquirendum. Leont. De Sectis, Bib. Pat. App. p. 1875.

† Scriptum est inquit, de die autem illo et hora nemo scit, neque angeli cælorum, nec filius, nisi solus pater. Primum non habent codices Græci, quod nec filius scit. Sed et non mirum si et hoc falsarunt, qui scripturas interpolare divinas. De Fide, lib 5. cap. 7. Op. vol. 4. p. 202.

‡ Quum autem privatus Byzantii Theodosius degeret Agnoetarum (sic ab ignoratione dictorum) dogma motum fuit. Nam quia dominus ait, neminem horam judicii scire,



## SECTION III.

*Opinions concerning the body of Christ.*

I HAVE had occasion to observe more than once, that christianity was never quite purged from the errors of the Gnostics. For though the orthodox, who opposed them, advanced different principles, they were insensibly led to several of the same conclusions. Thus the orthodox agreed with the Gnostics in supposing, that the maker of the world was different from the Supreme God, and they came to agree with them at last, in supposing matter to be the cause of all evil. At least they adopted the same maxims and practices with respect to corporeal austerities; and several of them, we shall now find, came very near to them with respect to their doctrine concerning

ne filium quidem, extra solum patrem: quæsitum est, an Christus eam ignoraret, ut homo. Theodosius Christum ignorare negabat, et adversus Agnoetas scripsit. Leontius De Sectis Bib. Pat. App. p. 1861.

the

the person of Christ. All the Gnostics thought that the proper *Christ* was a super-angelic being, which had existed long before the birth of Jesus; and in this also the orthodox agreed with them, only supposing that this divine inhabitant of Jesus, was of a higher rank than the Gnostics had made him to be (which was really departing farther from the genuine simplicity of the gospel) and they applied the term *Christ*, not to the divine inhabitant of Jesus only, but to his whole compound person, which was a difference merely verbal.

Lastly, some of the Gnostics thought that Christ had no real body, and consequently, had not the sensations or feelings of one; but the orthodox principle of the union of the divine nature to the human produced almost the same effect. For some of the catholics supposed, that, in consequence of this union, the body of Christ was exempt from all disagreeable sensations; and indeed this was a natural consequence of their principles. For if there was a real union between the two natures, the sensations of the one must have been communicated to



the other; and as it was agreed that the divine nature could not feel pain, the human nature, in order to enjoy the benefit of the union, ought to be exempt from pain also, which we shall find was actually held by Hilary.

In general, however, it was maintained that the human nature of Christ was as effectually deserted by the divine nature in the day of suffering, as the Gnostics had ever supposed it to be; and it is very remarkable, how nearly the language of the orthodox on this subject approached to that of the Gnostics. Tertullian, in a passage quoted before says, that "the complaint uttered by Christ on the cross, was from the man, not from the God, to shew that God was impassible, who thus left the Son, and gave up the man to death\*." "Let him learn," says Origen, "that the logos, always remaining the logos, feels nothing of the suffering of the body, or

\* *Hæc vox carnis et animæ, id est hominis, non sermonis, nec spiritus, id est non Dei, propterea emissæ est, ut impassibilem Deum ostenderet, qui sic filium dereliquit, dum hominem ejus tradidit in mortem. Ad Praxeam, sect. 30. p. 518.*

"the

“the soul\*.” “As the sun-beams,” says Damascenus, “are not hurt when a tree on which it shines is cut down; so neither was the divinity of Christ affected when his flesh suffered †.” The opinion contrary to this, ascribed to the Patripassians, was deemed a heresy. Thus, Austin says; “there is another heresy, which says that the divinity in Christ grieved, when his flesh was fixed to the cross ‡.”

It being, therefore, a settled point, that the divine nature of Christ could not feel pain; it is no wonder that some of the orthodox should have agreed with those Gnostics who held that his body, or what had the appearance of a body, had not the wants

\* Μανθανέτω οίς ο λόγος τῆ ἁγίας μενῶν λογῶν, ὅθεν μὲν πάσχει αὐτὸ πᾶσχει τὸ σῶμα ἢ ἡ ψυχή. Ad Celsum, lib. 3. p. 170.

† Quemadmodum enim si sole arbori illucente securis arborem inciderit, sol tamen infectus, atque ab omni injuria incolumis manet: eodem modo, ac multo etiam magis, impassibilis verbi divinitas, carni personaliter unita, patiente carne incolumis mansit. *Orthod. Fid. lib. 3. cap. 26. Opera, p. 428.*

‡ Alia est hæresis, quæ dicit in Christo divinitatem doluisse, cum figeretur caro ejus in cruce. *Catalogus Her. Opera, vol. 6. p. 29.*



and weaknesses of other bodies, and was likewise insensible of pain.

Clemens Alexandrinus says, "It would  
" be ridiculous to suppose that the body of  
" our Lord required supplies for its sup-  
" port. He ate not on account of his body,  
" which was supported by divine power,  
" but lest those who conversed with him  
" should have had a suspicion that he was a  
" phantasm, and had only the appearance of  
" a man." He also says that "he was, ex-  
" empt from all passion, pleasurable or pain-  
" ful \*."

Hilary maintained that the body of  
Christ was impassible. "You will not be-  
" lieve," says he, "impious heretic, but  
" that Christ felt when the nails pierced  
" his hands.—I ask, why did not the chil-  
" dren," meaning the three in Daniel, "fear

\* *Επι μὲν τῷ σώματι ἀπαύειν ὡς σώματι τὰς ἀναγκὰς  
ὑπηρεσίας εἰς διαίτην, γελῶς αὖ ἐν· ἐφαγὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ σῶμα,  
δυναμὶ συνεχομένου σώματος· ἀλλὰ ὡς μὴ τὰς συνήκας ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῆς  
φρονεῖν ὑπεισελθεῖ· ὡς περ ἀμελεῖ ὑγερὸν, δοκῇ τινος αὐτὸν πεφρα-  
γεῖσθαι ὑπελάθον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπαξασπλῶς ἀπαθὴς ἦν, εἰς οὐ ἐδὲν  
παρεισδυεῖται κίνημα παθητικόν, εἴτε ἡδονῇ, εἴτε λύπῃ. Strom. 6. p.  
649.*

" the

“the fire, or feel pain\*.” Other respectable writers maintained that the body of Christ was free from the affections of other human bodies. Ambrose says “It was artifice in Christ to pretend to be hungry †.” “In the divine and holy body of Christ,” says Cyril of Alexandria, “there are no passions; and being the property of the logos, inhabiting it, and united to it, it is perfectly sanctified ‡.” “Christ,” says Caspian, “did not feel carnal desire §.”

Anastasius Sinaïta makes a difference between common flesh and the flesh of Christ,

\* Non vis impie hæretice, ut transeunte palmas clavo Christus non doluerit, neque vulnus illud nullam acerbitem teli compungentis intulerit. Interrogo cur pueri ignes non timuerint, nec doluerint. De Trinitate, lib. 10. p. 255.

† Videte artem domini qua adversarium fraude circumvenit. Post multa jejunia esurire se simulat, ut diabolum, quem jejunando jam vicerat, iterum esuriendo sollicitet. Ser. 37. Opera, vol. 5. p. 53.

‡ Αλλ' ἔκ ἐν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ τῷ χριστῷ σώματι τοῦτον τι κεννησθαι φαμεν, ἀλλ' ἣν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς φρενὸς καὶ ἐκλοπῆς τῶν παθῶν, καὶ ὡς ἰδίον γεγονός τῷ ἐνωθέντι αὐτῷ ἐνωμένῳ λογῷ κατέπλεει τὸν ἁγιασμόν. Contra Julianum, lib. 8. Juliani Opera, vol. 2. p. 287.

§ Non enim ignitos aculeos concupiscentiæ carnalis expertus est. Coll. 5. Opera, p. 392.



and says that, on this account, Gregory Nazianzen scrupled not to say that the flesh of Christ was God-like\*.

Notwithstanding it was so much a settled point with the ancient Fathers, that the divine nature could not suffer or feel pain; yet during the Nestonian controversy, it was customary for the orthodox to hold a different language, and to say that the logos itself was crucified, suffered, and even died. This was in answer to Nestorius, who maintained that there were two distinct natures in Christ, the divine and the human, and that it could only be the human nature in Christ that suffered. The language which the orthodox made use of in answer to him was very extraordinary, and often shocking. Cassian says in so many words, that "God was crucified†." "If any one," says Cyril of Alexandria, "does

\* Est enim caro et non caro—Et ideo Gregorius in theologia celeberrimus non veretur dicere carnem domini *ομοθεον*, id est, simul Deum. In Hexameron. Bib. Pat. App. p. 1407.

† Ergo necesse est ut Christum affixum esse in cruce deneges; aut Deum affixum esse fatearis. De Incarnatione, lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 995.

“not confess that the word of God suffered  
 “in the flesh; was crucified in the flesh,  
 “and tasted death in the flesh, being made  
 “the first-born from the dead, as he is the  
 “life, and the giver of life, as God, let  
 “him be anathema \*.”

But when this writer comes to explain himself, it appears that what he said was nothing better than a quibble. “God the  
 “word,” he says, “was free from passion;  
 “but he appropriated to himself what was  
 “done to his own body †.” “Christ is  
 “palpable and impalpable, visible and in-  
 “visible ‡. We ascribe to him human  
 “properties on account of the dispensation  
 “of the flesh, and divine ones on account  
 “of his ineffable generation from the Fa-

\* Si quis non confitetur verbum Dei carne esse passum, carne crucifixum, et mortem carne gustasse, primo genitum ex mortuis factum, quemadmodum et vita est, et vivificans, sicut Deus, Anathema esto. Epist. Opera, vol. 2. p. 27.

† Tum cogita quod Deus verbum passionis quidem manserit expers, verum hæc omnia proprio corpori facta sibi appropriarit. Hom. Opera, vol. 2. p. 75.

‡ Dicimus itaque eundem palpabilem cum sit impalpabilis, visibilem cum sit invisibilis. Ibid. p. 96.

“ther.”



“ther\*.” He also says expressly, “We  
 “all acknowledge that the word of God is  
 “impaffible†.” Theodoret likewise says  
 “because the body which was assumed is  
 “called the body of the only begotten Son  
 “of God, the sufferings of that body are  
 “referred to him‡.”

The doctrine of the union between the  
 divine and human nature of Christ seems to  
 have been carried to its greatest height by  
 Damascenus, who says, “the flesh of Christ,  
 “on account of its union with the logos,  
 “has a life-giving property, is endued  
 “with a knowledge of futurity, and may  
 “even be said always to have been§.” For

\* Et huic adscribimus tam humana, propter dispensationem illius cum carne susceptam, quam divina propter inenarrabilem illius quam ex patre habet generationem. Hom. Opera, vol. 2. p. 97.

† Præterea et impassibile esse verbum Dei confitemur omnes. Epist. 28. Opera, vol. 2. p. 44.

‡ Καὶ ἐπεὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς μονογενεῖς υἱὸς τῆς θεῆς σῶμα τὸ ληφθῆναι προσηγορευθῆναι σῶμα, εἰς ταύτην ἀναφέρει τὸ τῆς σωματικῆς πάθους. Epist. 144. Opera, vol. 3. p. 1019.

§ Serva et ignorans Christi caro dicitur. Verum ob personæ identitatem, atque indivulsam conjunctionem, domini anima rerum futurarum cognitione, quemadmodum

this he quotes Gregory Nazianzen. "The  
" orthodox believe the deification of the  
" flesh of Christ, though without any change  
" of its properties. The one brought, and  
" the other received divinity\*."

The nature of the body of Christ was  
one part of the Apollinarian controversy.  
Apollinarius held an opinion on this subject,  
which very much resembles that of some of  
the Gnostics. For he said that "it came  
" from heaven †," "that it was eter-  
" nal ‡," and that "it was consubstantial  
" with the divinity §." Some who were

dum et reliquis miraculis, locupletata est. *Orthod. Fid. lib.*  
3. cap. 21. *Opera*, p. 421.

\* Ut enim incarnationem citra mutationem et conver-  
sionem confitemur: sic item carni deificationem factam esse  
censemus. Sic enim Theologus Gregorius loquitur:  
Quorum alterum divinitatem attulit, alterum divinitatem  
accepit. *Ibid. cap. 17. p. 413.*

† Τινες μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰσληψάν λέγειν, αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν τὸ σῶμα  
καὶ ληννοχέναι. Epiphanius, H. 77. p. 996.

‡ Ὡς εἶπεν μὴ νεώτερον εἶναι τὸ σῶμα τῆς τε λόγῳ θεοῦ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ  
συναιδίου αὐτῷ διαπαρὶς γέγεννησθαι, ἐπεὶ ἐκ τῆς σοφίας συνεστῆ. *Ibid.*  
p. 999.

Εξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ υἱῷ τὴν σαρκωδὴ ἐκείνην φύσιν εἶναι. G. Nazian-  
zen, Or. 46. *Opera*, p. 722.

§ Τινες δὲ καὶ ὁμοῦσι τὸ σῶμα τε Χριστὶ τῇ θεοῦ φύσει λέγειν εἰσληψάν.  
Epiphanius, H. 77. *Opera*, vol. 1. p. 997.

called



called *Gainites*, also held that "the body of  
" Christ was incorruptible\*."

That the body of Christ was naturally incorruptible was an opinion very prevalent among the orthodox after the council of Nice. Athanasius says, that "the body of  
" Christ suffered according to the nature of  
" bodies, but that it had the property of  
" incorruptibility from the *logos* inhabit-  
" ing it†." Fulgentius says, that "the body  
" of Christ had no corruption in the grave,  
" and his soul no pain in hell." This he ascribes to the body and soul being free from sin ‡. The emperor Justinian adopted this opinion some time before his death. But it was afterwards generally condemned.

\* *Constituentur Gainitæ Deum sermonem e virgine naturam humanam adsumpsisse perfecte ac vere, sed post unionem esse corpus incorruptibile dicunt.* Leontius de Sectis, Bib. Pat. App. p. 1873.

† *Πασχον μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα, κατὰ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων φύσιν ἐπάσχειν· εἶχε δὲ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας τὴν φύσιν ἐκ τῆς συναινεσάντος αἰῶνος λόγου.* Sermo Major de fide in Montfaucon, vol. 2. p. 7.

‡ Sic tamen, ut nec Christi caro in sepulchro corrumperetur, nec inferni doloribus anima torqueretur. Quoniam anima, immunis a peccato non erat subdenda supplicio; et carnem sine peccato non debuit vitare corruptio. Ad Trasimundum, lib. 3. cap. 30. p. 476.

Agebard

Agobard attributed even a vivifying power to the flesh of Christ\*.

In favour of his opinion, that the body of Christ came from heaven, Apollinarius urged John's saying *the word was made flesh* †. And it is observed by Athanasius, that this was a text, which "both the ancient and modern heretics took advantage of ‡." To this scheme it was answered, that "by making the body of Christ consubstantial with the logos, they made a fourth person in the deity, and so composed a quaternity, and not a trinity §."

\* Felix soli divinitati tribuit vivificationem, dicens dominum secundum divinitatem vivificantem quos vult; et non recordans quod et caro vivificatoris verbi, vivificatrix credenda est, beato Cyrillo docente ita. Adversus Felicem, sect. 32. p. 40.

† Quemadmodum argumentantur Appollinaristæ vel quicunque sunt alii, adversus animam domini, quam propterea negant quia scriptum legunt, verbum caro factum est. Si enim et anima inquit, ibi esset, debuit dici, verbum homo factus est. Austin de Anima, Opera, vol. 7. p. 1159.

‡ Το δε ο λογος εγενετο σαρκι εισημενον, υπερφως τε η υπερ επαινον, εξελεξατο η αι παλαι καλα τας αιρεσεις πολεμοι. η οι νυν αντιδικοι. Opera, vol. 2. p. 296.

§ Ουτως το ομοουσιον σωμα τε λογος εκ εστιν αυτος ο λογος, αλλ' ειερων προς τον λογον. ειερει δε ουτος, εσαι κατ αυτης η αυτων τριαις τετρας. Epiphanius. Hær. 77. Opera, vol. 1. p. 1004.



## CHAPTER VIII.

*Of the Use of the Incarnation, and the Objections that were made to the Doctrine.*

**I**T is not my design in this work to treat largely concerning the *use* of the doctrine of the incarnation, as I have already done it in what I have advanced concerning the doctrine of *atonement*, in my *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*. But having selected a few passages which may throw some farther light on the subject, from the works which have lately gone through my hands, it may not be amiss to insert them in this place.

The great and immediate object of the doctrine of the incarnation of the *logos* was the exaltation of the person of Christ; but it was soon found to answer another purpose, and this was to enable the philosophizing christians to conceive how *man* should conquer *death*, and the *devil*, which they say he could not have done, without

the assistance of *divinity*. For this purpose they supposed that the divine nature of Christ was so *mixed* with the human, that the actions of the one were attributed to the other; and they also conceived the human nature of Christ to be, as it were, the representative of mankind in general. They were likewise struck with the idea of the same being that made the world coming to restore it. "There is nothing absurd," says Athanasius, "in supposing that the Father saved the world by the same person by whom he made it\*." "It was necessary," says Job, the monk, "that the maker of the world should reform and renew his own workmanship, which had received injury†."

Equal stress was laid both upon the *divinity* and the *humanity* of Christ, in order to accomplish this end. "God," says Irenæus, "shall judge the Ebionites; for

\* Ουδεν γαρ εναντιον φανησεται, ει δι ε ταυτην εδημιουργησεν ο πατηρ, εν αυτω η την ταυτης ποιητριαν εργασασθαι. De Incarnatione Opera, vol. i. p. 54.

† Ως εχρον του δημιουργου η παλαιαν, αυτον η αναπλασαι η ανακαινισαι συνιζησεν το δημιουργημα. Phot. Bib. sect. 222, p. 582.



“ how can they be saved, unless it be God  
 “ who works out their salvation upon  
 “ earth; and how can man go to God, if  
 “ God do not come to man \*?” But it was  
 equally necessary that Christ should have  
 a proper human nature, that it might be  
 a man who conquered his own enemies.  
 “ Man,” says Athanasius, “ was corrupted  
 “ and destroyed; wherefore the logos made  
 “ use of man as an instrument, and con-  
 “ formed himself in all things †.” “ The  
 “ human nature of Christ,” says Gregory  
 Nyssen, “ by which the whole of human  
 “ nature was mixed with the Deity, is  
 “ taken out of all human nature, as the  
 “ first fruits of the common mass ‡.” Also  
 Gregory Nazianzen speaks of Christ as re-

\* Ανακρίνει δε καὶ τῆς Ἡσίουσας . πως δυνατὸν σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὴν σῶτηριν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐργασάμενος \* ἢ πως ἀνθρώπος χωριστὸς εἰς θεόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐχώρηθῃ εἰς ἀνθρώπον. Lib. 4. cap. 59. p. 358.

† Ἀλλ’ ὁ ἤδη γενομένος ἀνθρώπος, ἐφείρειτο καὶ παραπολλῶ . ὁ δὲ σικτωρ ἀνθρώπων κερήλαι καλῶς ὀργάνῳ, καὶ εἰς πάντα αὐτὸν πληροῦν ὁ λόγος. De Incarnatione, Opera, vol. 1. p. 98.

‡ Ἐκ πάσης δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπινης φύσεως ἡ κατεμειχθὴ τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκ ἀπαρχὴ τις τῆ κοινῆς θυραμῆος ὁ καὶ χρῆτον ἀνθρώπος, ὑπερτα, διὰ προσέφυγῃ τῇ θεότητι πάντες ἀνθρώπων. Opera, vol. 1. p. 844.

“ presenting

“ presenting human nature, when he hung  
 “ upon the cross, and says, that in this capa-  
 “ city he said, *My God, my God, why hast thou*  
 “ *forsaken me*; not meaning that he him-  
 “ self was deserted either by the Father, or  
 “ by his own divinity, but only that hu-  
 “ man nature was in a deserted and de-  
 “ spised state \*.”

Chrysostom, speaking of Christ bidding  
 his disciples to handle and feel him, that  
 they might be satisfied that he was no  
 spirit, and of his reproof to Peter about  
 his suffering death, says, that “ his human  
 “ nature was that on which our salvation  
 “ chiefly depended; for thus death and sin  
 “ are destroyed, the curse abolished, and a  
 “ thousand blessings introduced. He there-  
 “ fore chose that his humanity should be  
 “ believed in the first place, this being the  
 “ root and foundation of innumerable good  
 “ things †.” He also says, that “ when

\* Οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐγκαταλείπειται ἡ ὑπὸ τῆ πατρὸς, ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς  
 ἐαυτοῦ θεότης. — Ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ὅπερ εἶπον τυποῖ το ἡμέτερον. ἡμεῖς  
 γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐγκαταλειμμένοι καὶ παρεωραμένοι προίτερον, εἴα νῦν προ-  
 σειλημμένοι καὶ σεσωσμένοι τοῖς τῆ ἀπαθείας παθήσειν. Or. 36.

Opera, p. 581:

† Μαλλον δὲ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σωτηρίας το κεφαλαιον [τῆς] καὶ δι  
 ἡ πάντα γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κατορθοῦσθαι. εἴη γὰρ καὶ θανάτος ἐλπίς, καὶ ἀμαρτίας



“ Christ was led by the spirit into the  
 “ wilderness, and conquered the devil, it  
 “ was not his divinity that did it; for that  
 “ it would have been disgraceful to the  
 “ Deity to say, *I have conquered*\*.” He  
 also says, that “ Christ saves us, and makes  
 “ intercession, as a man †.”

Theodoret makes it the strongest objec-  
 tion to the doctrine of Eutyches, that, upon  
 his scheme, “ we have no advantage from  
 “ the incarnation, nor any pledge of our  
 “ own resurrection. For it will not, fol-  
 “ low, that because God rose from the  
 “ grave, therefore man will, the difference of  
 “ the natures is so great ‡.” Arguing against

επηρεδη, καὶ καίσαρα η̅ρανισθη, καὶ τὰ μυρία εἰσηλθὲν εἰς τὴν βίον ἡμῶν  
 ἀγάθα. διὸ μακάριον ἐβλεῖο πεινεσθαι τῇ οικονομίᾳ, τὴν βίαν καὶ  
 πῶτην ἡμῶν τῶν μυρίων γενομένην ἀγαθὴν. οικονομῶν δὲ τὰ θεῖα συ-  
 μαζεσθαι ἡμῶν. In John. Hom. 30. Opera, vol. 8. p. 155.

\* Ἀπὸ τῆς πνεύματος πειρασθῆναι, καὶ ἐνίκησε τὸν διάβολον,  
 οὐκ ἡ θεότης. Ὅτις γὰρ ἡν τῇ θεότητι τοῦτο εὐκρινεῖται. De Sp. S.  
 vol. 6. p. 216.

† Πᾶς σῶζει· Πᾶσι δὲ ζῶν, εἰς τὸ ἐνὶ γυμνασίῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. οὐκ  
 ἀνδρωποθήσει. In Heb. 7. Opera, vol. 10. p. 1846.

‡ ἵνα δὲ τὴν τῆς μάχης ὑπερβολὴν καταλιπώμεν. ἐκεῖνο σκοπήσωμεν,  
 ὥς ἂν ἡμῶν ὁ φερός ἐκ τῆς ἐνανδρωπότητος γεγόνε, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας  
 ἀναστάσεως ἂν ἐγγύθεν ἔχομεν. ἂν γὰρ. εἰ θεὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθεῖται,  
 πᾶσι καὶ ἀνθρώπος ἀναστήσει. πάντοτε γὰρ τῶν φύσεων τὸ δια-  
 φορὸν. Hæc. Fab. lib. 4, cap. 13, Opera, vol. 4. p. 373.  
 Ed. Halæ.

the Apollinarians, he says, that "if Christ  
 " had a logos, instead of a human soul, it  
 " was God and not man that overcame in  
 " the temptation; and, therefore, that man  
 " could derive no benefit from it. The  
 " devil," he also says, " would exult, as  
 " having been overcome, not by man, but  
 " by God. For it was a great thing to  
 " him to be conquered by God \*." A  
 more particular account of the use of the  
 incarnation, but all proceeding upon the  
 same idea, may be seen in Eusebius, *De*  
*Laudibus, Constantini*, cap. 14. p. 759. and  
 in Austin, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 10. cap. 29.  
*Opera*, vol. 5. p. 590.

Origen's idea on this subject was some-  
 what peculiar, but sufficiently agreeable to  
 his doctrine of the logos, as the universal  
 agent of the deity operating through all  
 nature. For, he says, " Christ died not  
 " for man only, but for all rational crea-  
 " tures, even for the stars," which, as a  
 Platonist, he supposed to be animated.—  
 For, says he, " the stars are not clean  
 " in his sight, as we read in the book

\* Εγώ μὲν ἄνεκα ἀκωλύματα τῆς νουῆς, ὡς ἔθεν εἰς ταῦτα εἰσενε-  
 γωνῶν· ἀλλὰ ὅτι τῆς ἐνλευθέρῃ εὐφροσύνῃ γεγυμνασμένοι ἐπὶ τροπαίοις γα-  
 ρίων ἀνδρείοις. *Opera*, vol. 5. p. 47.



"of Job\*." Still, however, he retained the idea of the *logos* serving men in the character of a man, and other beings in their peculiar characters. For, he says, "Christ was a man for men, and an angel to angels," as he infers from his appearances in the Old Testament†. It is evident, however, from this, that Origen did not consider *suffering* as necessary to redemption. For though, according to him, Christ assumed the form of an angel, he could not suppose that he suffered in that form.

Though the doctrine of the incarnation of the *logos* served to cover the reproach of the cross, and to make the religion of Christ appear more respectable, which no doubt it did with many, it did not answer this end universally. For the thing itself was so monstrous and absurd, that it was much ridiculed by those who did not embrace it. Of this we have many instances,

\* Ου μόνον ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν λοιπῶν λογικῶν εἰς χάριν θεοῦ ἐγενεσάτο τε ὑπὲρ πάντος θανάτου. — Οἷον ὑπὲρ αἰσρων ἡ δὲ τῶν αἰσρων πάντως κατὰ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐποίησεν τε θεός, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ιωβ ἀνεγνώμεν. Comment. vol. 2. p. 39.

† Καὶ σαφὲς γέγονεν ἀνθρώποις ἀνθρώπος, καὶ ἀγγέλοις ἀγγελος. Ibid. p. 32.

almost from the time that it was first started to a very late period.

In Justin's dialogue with Trypho, the latter says, "You tell me something incredible, and almost impossible, that God could be born and become a man \*."

Celsus objected to the "impossibility of God becoming man †." "God, O Jews, and Christians, or the Son of God, never descended, or could descend ‡." "The conceited Greeks," says Clemens Alexandrinus, "think it fabulous, that the Son of God should speak by man, that God should have a Son, and that he should suffer; and having this prejudice, they are prevented from believing §." "You say," says Lactantius, "it is impossible that any thing should be taken from an

\* Ἀπίστον γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον σχεδὸν πρᾶγμα ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀποδεικνύειν, ὅτι θεὸς ὑπερβαίνει γεννηθῆναι, καὶ ἀνθρώπου γενεσθαι. p. 283.

† Οὐκ ἦτοι ὡς ἀνθρώπος μετὰ τὸ γεννᾶσθαι ὁ θεός, ὡς περ υἱοὶ φασιν εἰς σῶμα θνητὸν, καὶ προεῖρηται τὸ ἀδύνατον. Origen Contra Celsum, lib. 4. p. 171.

‡ Θεὸς μὲν, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ χριστιανοί, καὶ θεὸς πᾶσι νόμοις εἰς καὶ κληρονομία. Ibid. lib. 5. p. 231.

§ Μυθώδες γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι οἱ δόκοντες, διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπου υἱὸν θεοῦ λαλεῖν, υἱὸν τε εἶναι τὸν θεόν, καὶ οὐ καὶ πεπονθέναι τῶν. ὁθεν αὐτοὶ οὐ προσηλπίσας τῆς οὐσιότητος ἀναπτύξει ἀπίστευ. Strom. lib. 1. p. 313.

"immortal



“ immortal being. You say it is unworthy  
 “ of God to become a man, and to load  
 “ himself with the infirmities of the flesh,  
 “ so as to subject himself to passions, pain,  
 “ and death \*.”

Athanasius strongly expresses this objection to the incarnation of the Son of God. “ The Jews,” says he, “ reproach us for  
 “ it, the Gentiles laugh at it, but we  
 “ adore it †.” “ They urge us,” he says,  
 “ with heathenish and Jewish blasphemies,  
 “ laughing at the mystery of the mission  
 “ of the logos, and the incarnation ‡.”  
 “ Some, thinking with heathens and Jews,  
 “ not admitting that God was incarnate,  
 “ but endeavouring to comprehend by hu-  
 “ man reasoning and philosophy, things  
 “ that are incomprehensible, as how that

\* *Negant fieri potuisse, ut naturæ immortali quicquam decederet. Negant denique Deo dignum, ut homo fieri vellet, seque infirmitate carnis oneraret; ut passionibus, ut doleri, ut morti seipse subjicerit. Instit. lib. 4. sect. 22. p. 424.*

† *Ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν διαβάλλουσιν, Ἕλληες δὲ χλευάζουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ προσκυνούμεν. De Incarnatione, Opera, vol. 1. p. 53.*

‡ *Ἀλλὰς τε Ἑλλαννικαὶ ἡμῶν ἀνιλογίας μινεσι, καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων βλασφημίας ἐπιφέρουσι, χλευάζουσι τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς ἀποστόλης τὸ λόγον καὶ σαρκωθέντος. Contra Sabellium, Opera, vol. 1. p. 663.*

“ which

“ which is incorporeal can be born, how  
 “ it can proceed, and where can be that  
 “ which is every where, and contains all  
 “ things, and fills all things; from this  
 “ arguing about *how*, and *where*, they go  
 “ into infidelity\*.”

Libanius ridiculed the christians for making a man of Palestine a god, and the son of God †.

Chrysostom also says, that “ many heathens, when they hear that God was born in the flesh, laugh at us, and disturb and affright the more simple ‡,” thinking it unworthy of God §.

\* Ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ζηλοῦσι τινες Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων νότον νοσούντες, καὶ μὴ παραδεχόμενοι, μὴδε πιστεύοντες ὡς συμβαίνει εἶναι θεόν, ἀλλὰ λογισμοῖς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φιλονεικίαι, καὶ φιλοσοφία Ἑλληνική γινώκει, καὶ καταλαβεῖν μάρτυρον βεβηκότα ταῖς μεγάλας καὶ ἀκατάληπτα, πῶς γενναῖα τοῦ ἀσώματου πῶς δὲ καὶ προήτοι καὶ πῶς ὁ πάντα καὶ ὡν, καὶ πάντα περιέχων, καὶ πάντα πληρὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πῶς, καὶ ὅπως, εἰς ἀκρίβειαν ἐχωρήσαν, καὶ ἀντὶ γεννητικῆς ἐπιδασκαλίας ποιήσαν, καὶ ἀντὶ προόδου κλισίῃ, καὶ παροδὸν κατέστρεψαν. Unum esse Christum, Opera, vol. 1. p. 665.

† Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ σοφιστὴς Λύκαιος, ἐπιχλευάζων, τὸν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, φησιν, ἀνθρώπον, θεὸν τε, καὶ θεῶν παῖδα ποιεῖν. Socratis Hist. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 203.

‡ Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἑλλήνων, αἰσούντες ὅτι θεὸς ἐλεχθὴ ἐν σαρκί, καταγέλωσι, διασυρόντες, καὶ πολλὰς τῶν ἀφελεστέρων δορυβῶσι καὶ τὰ γαῖταισι. Ser. 31. Opera, vol. 5. p. 476.

§ Ἀπρεπές θεῷ. Ibid. p. 478.



## CHAPTER IX.

*Of the Controversy relating to the Holy Spirit.*

**I**T is pretty remarkable, that, notwithstanding the doctrine concerning the *person of Christ*, had been the great subject of controversy ever since the promulgation of christianity, there is no mention made of any difference of opinion concerning the *Holy Spirit*, that attracted any notice, till after the commencement of the Arian controversy, and even till after the council of Nice. Basil observes, that “the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, which made so much noise in his time, had not been agitated by the ancients; and because they had been all of the same opinion about it, it had not been settled\*.” Now, as in all this period, it will appear that there were great numbers of *unitarians* (they be-

\* Επειδή δε το νη αναμψαν παρα των αι τι κανονισμειν επιχειρουσιν ζήνημα, παρασιωπηθεν τοις πασαι, δια το αναμψησιν, αδιαφορουν κατελειφθη (λεγω δη το περι τῶ αγιου πνευματος). Epist. 387. Opera, vol. 3. p. 382.

ing the majority of the unlearned christians among the Gentiles, besides the whole body of the Jewish christians, who did not believe in any divinity except that of the Father) and this is never objected to them by their adversaries, who *do* censure them for not admitting the divinity of the Son, it is evident that the divinity of the Spirit had not been acknowledged even by those who had been deemed orthodox.

Even after the rise of the Arian controversy, many persons expressed themselves concerning the Spirit as if it had no proper divinity, at least of a personal nature, without censure, which could not have been the case, if it had been the uniform doctrine of the orthodox, that the Holy Spirit was a proper *divine person*, equal to the Son, or the Father. We may conclude, therefore, that it was the doctrine of the divinity of the Son which prepared the way for that of the Holy Spirit. But to enable us to judge from facts, I shall produce passages relating to the Holy Spirit from a considerable number of christian writers, in the order of time in which they wrote.

S E C-



## SECTION I.

*Opinions concerning the Holy Spirit before the Council of Nice.*

THE sentiments of the Gnostics, with respect to the Holy Spirit, were never, that we find, much complained of. But indeed, we do not know very distinctly what they were, except that, from their general system, it may be concluded, that if they supposed him to be a person at all, he must have been one of their *æons*, derived, mediately, or immediately, from the Supreme Being; and this agrees with Athanasius's saying, that "Valentinus thought the Holy Spirit to be of the same rank with the angels \*."

\* Επειδή τον θεον κ' τον χριστον υπομαρτυν εἶλα τῶς ἀγγέλους, ἀποκαί τοις ἀγγέλοις συναριθμοῦσθαι το πνεῦμα, τῆς τε αὐτῶν ἐκείναι συτοιχίας αὐτοῦ κ' ἀγγέλων ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων· ὡροῖον μὲν ἐν τῆς ἀσθεῖας ἐν τῷ Οὐαλεντίνῳ τῷ εὐρημα· κ' ἐκ ἐλαδον ἵλοι τα ἐκεῖνος φθεῖγομενοι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ φησι· οἱ πεμφθέντες τὰ παρὰ αὐτοῦ, συναριθμοῦσθαι αὐτῷ οἱ ἀγγέλοι. Epist. Ad. Serapion, Opera, vol. I: p. 185.

We

We can have no dependence, as I have shewn, upon any arguments from the writings of the apostolical Fathers, except that of Clement, who makes no particular mention of the Holy Spirit. In the book ascribed to Hermas, he is made to say, "do not offend the Holy Spirit, lest he intreat God, and depart from thee\*." According to this, the Holy Spirit must have been thought to be a *creature*, dependent upon God.

Ignatius, if his epistle to the Ephesians be genuine, considered the Holy Spirit as a *power*, rather than as a *person*. For he says, awkwardly enough, "We are raised upwards by the machine Jesus Christ, which is his cross, using the Holy Spirit as a rope†."

Justin Martyr, to whom we are indebted for the first rudiments of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, says but little concerning the Holy Spirit; and from that

\* Noli offendere spiritum sanctum, qui in te, habitat ne roget dominum, et recedat a te. Mand. 10. sect. 3. p. 97.

† Αναφερομενοι εις τα υψηλα δια της μηχανης Ιησου Χριστου, ο οτις εστιν σταυρος, σχοινοχρωμενοι τω πνευματι τω αγιω. Sect. 9. p. 14.



little, it is not easy to conclude what his real opinion was. But it is probable that he considered the Spirit as a created being, since he represents him as inferior to Christ. "But him, and the Son who comes from him, and teaches us these things, and the hosts of good angels which follow them, and agree with them" (meaning perhaps, other valuable truths of an important nature) "and the prophetic spirit, we reverence and adore, honouring them in word and deed \*." Speaking of Christ as "the Son of the true God, and to be honoured in the second place," he says, "we honour the prophetic spirit in the third place, after the logos †."

Irenæus seems to have considered the Holy Spirit as a divine influence, and no proper person. "By the name of Christ," he says, "we are given to understand one who anoints, one who is anointed, and

\* Αλλ' ἐκείνου τε καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα, καὶ διδασκῶντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομωμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατῶν, πνευμᾶ τε τοῦ προφητικῶν σεβόμεθα, καὶ προσκυνούμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες. *Apol. i. p. 11.*

† Τὸν αὐτὸς τὸ οὐλὸς θεὸς μακάριος καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ ἡλικίᾳ ἐχόντες, πνευμᾶ τε προφητικῶν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει οὐ μὲν λόγῳ τιμῶμεν. *Ibid. p. 19.*

" the unction with which he is anointed.  
 " It is the Father who anoints, but the  
 " Son is anointed, in the Spirit, which is  
 " the unction ; as the word says by *Isaiah*,  
 " The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, be-  
 " cause he has anointed me ; signifying  
 " the Father anointing, the Son who is  
 " anointed, and the unction, which is the  
 " Spirit \*."

Again, speaking of the fleece of *Gideon*  
 which continued dry, he says, " it is a  
 " type of the people, who would afterwards  
 " be dry, not having the Holy Spirit from  
 " God, as *Isaiah* says, and I will order the  
 " clouds that they shall not rain upon thee,  
 " but in all the earth there shall be dew,  
 " which is the Spirit of God, which de-  
 " scended upon our Lord ; the spirit of  
 " wisdom and understanding, the spirit of

\* In Christi enim nomine subauditur qui unxit, et  
 ipse qui unctus est, et in ipsa unctio in qua unctus est. Et  
 unxit quidem pater, unctus est vero filius, in spiritu, qui  
 est unctio ; quemadmodum per *Esaïam* ait sermo : spiritus  
 Dei super me, propter quod unxit me ; significans et un-  
 gentem patrem, et unctum filium, et unctionem, qui est  
 spiritus. Lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 246.



“ counsel and might; the spirit of know-  
 “ ledge and piety, the spirit of the fear of  
 “ God, which he would again give to the  
 “ church, sending the Paraclete from hea-  
 “ ven upon all the earth \*.”

Theophilus gives us no idea of a person,  
 much less a divine one, when he speaks of  
 the “ spirit that moved upon the face of the  
 “ water, as something imparted to the crea-  
 “ tion to vivify it, as the soul does the  
 “ body, the spirit being something atte-  
 “ nuated, imparted to the water, which is  
 “ thin and fluid also, that the spirit may  
 “ nourish the water, and the water added  
 “ to the spirit may nourish all creation,  
 “ prevailing it†.”

\* Quod erat typus populi, ariditatem futuram prophe-  
 tans; hoc est, non jam habituros eos a Deo spiritum  
 sanctum, sicut Elaias ait: et nubibus mandabo ne pluant  
 super eam; in omni autem terra fieri ros, quod est spi-  
 ritus Dei, qui descendit in dominum, spiritus sapientie et  
 intellectus, spiritus consilii, et virtutis, spiritus scientie et  
 pietatis, spiritus timoris Dei: quem ipsum iterum dedit  
 ecclesie, in omnem terram mittens de coelis paracletum.  
 Lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 244.

† Πνευμα δε το επιφερομενον επανω της υδατος ο εδομεν ο θεος εις  
 ζωογονιστην τη ημισει, καθωσπερ ανθρωπω ψυχην τη λεπτω το λεπτου αν-  
 θρωπου.

Athenagoras considered the Holy Spirit as an efflux from the Deity, flowing out and drawn into him again at pleasure, as a beam from the sun\*. This was that kind of existence that Justin Martyr says some persons ascribed to the divinity of the Son, and which constituted, as I shall show hereafter, what may be called the philosophical unitarianism of that age.

Tertullian seems to have thought that the Holy Spirit was derived from Christ, in the same manner as Christ was derived from God, that is by a kind of *prolation*. "The Spirit," says he, "is the third from the Father, and the Son; as the fruit is the third from the root, and the branch; as the rivulet is the third from the fountain and the river, and the apex the third from the sun and its beam. For

κερασας. το γαρ πνευμα λεπτον η το υδωρ λεπτον, οπως το μεν πνευμα τρεφει το υδωρ. το δε υδωρ συν τω πνευματι τρεφει την κλισιν, διηγμενον πανταχως. Lib. 2. p. 98.

\* Και τοι η αιολο το ενεργον τοις εκφωτισει προφητικως αγιον πνευμα, απορροει ειναι φαιμεν τα δεξ, απορρεει η επαναφερομενοι, ως ακινητοι ηλις. Apol. p. 84. 218.



“ none of these are separated from their  
 “ sources, from which they derive their  
 “ properties. So the Trinity running, by  
 “ connected degrees, from the Father, is no  
 “ hindrance to a monarchy, and yet a pro-  
 “ tection to the oeconomy \*.”

In another passage, he seems to confound the Spirit with the logos, supposing the spirit of God by which the Virgin Mary was overshadowed to have been the word. “ (By not  
 “ calling him God directly,” he says, “ he  
 “ means a portion of the whole, which will  
 “ obtain the name of the Son. This Spirit  
 “ of God is the same as the word; as  
 “ John says, *The word was made flesh*. We  
 “ also understand the Spirit when the word  
 “ is mentioned; for the Spirit is the sub-  
 “ stance of the word, and the word is the

\* Tertius enim est spiritus a Deo et filio, sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice; et tertius a fonte, rivus ex flumine; et tertius a sole, apex ex radio. Nihil tamen a matrice alienatur, a qua proprietates suas ducit. Ita trinitas per consertos et connexos gradus a patre decurrens et monarchiæ nihil obstrepat, et oeconomix statum protegit. Adv. Praxeam, sect. 8. p. 504.

“operation of the Spirit, and they two are “one\*.” Eusebius says that *λογος* and *πνευμα* *the word*, and *the Spirit*, mean the same thing with respect to God †.

It was supposed by the ancients, that the Spirit appeared in the proper form of a dove at our Saviour’s baptism, and consequently it was a question to be determined what became of the body of this dove. Tertullian intimates, that “as it was made “out of nothing, it might be resolved into “nothing, like the bodies of angels ‡.

Hippolytus perhaps considered the Spirit as a person; but it is not quite certain. “Why,” says he, “should any one say that

\* Tamen non directo deum nominans, portionem totius intelligi voluit, quæ cessura erat in filii nomen. Hic spiritus Dei idem erit sermo. Sicut enim Joanne dicente, sermo caro factus est; spiritum quoque intelligimus in mentione sermonis: ita et hic sermonem quoque agnoscimus in nomine spiritus. Nam et spiritus est substantia sermonis, et sermo operatio spiritus, et duo unum sunt. Ad Praxeam, sect. 26. p. 515.

† In Pl. Montfaucon, vol. 1.

‡ Sed quæris corpus columbæ ubi sit, resumpto spiritu in cœlum; æque et angelorum; eadem ratione interceptum est, quæ et editum fuerat; si vidisses cum de nihilo proferebatur, scisses, cum in nihilum subducebatur. De Carne Christi, sect. 3. p. 309.



“ we teach two Gods. I do not say there  
 “ are two Gods, but one, and two per-  
 “ sons, also the third œconomy, the grace  
 “ of the Holy Spirit. For the Father  
 “ is one, but two persons; because there  
 “ is a Son, and the third is the Holy  
 “ Spirit\*.” “ This is the Spirit that  
 “ moved upon the face of the waters, by  
 “ which the world is moved, by which the  
 “ creation consists, and all things receive  
 “ life†.”

Origen considered it as doubtful, whe-  
 ther, since all things are made by Christ,  
 the Holy Spirit was not made by him.  
 And after discussing the question a little,  
 he says, “ we who maintain three hypostases,  
 “ the Father, Son, and Spirit, and believe  
 “ that the Father only is unbegotten, think  
 “ it more agreeable to piety and truth, to  
 “ maintain that the Holy Spirit is superior

\* Τι εν φησιν αν τις δυο λεγειν θες; δυο μιν εκ ερω θες, αλλα η ενα, προσωπα δε δυο, οικονομιαν δε τριην, την χαριν τε αγιε πνευματος. Πατερ μιν γαρ εις, προσωπα δε δυο, δι η ο μος, το δε τριον το αγιον πνευμα. Ad Noetum, lect. 14. Opera, vol. 2. p. 15.

† Τελο δε εστιν το πνευμα, το απ αρχης επιφερομενον επανω των υδατων. δι η νοσμος κινειται, δι η κτισις ισταται χη τα συμπαντα ζωογονειται. Hom. in Theophaniam, Opera, p. 264:

“ to all things that were made by Christ ;  
 “ and that the only reason why he is not  
 “ called a *son* of God, is that the only be-  
 “ gotten Son had obtained that title, which  
 “ the Holy Spirit wanted, being subser-  
 “ vient to his nature, not only with respect  
 “ to his *being*, but to his being wise and  
 “ rational, and righteous, and every thing  
 “ else that he is understood to be. But I  
 “ think that the Holy Spirit, if I may so  
 “ speak, furnishes the materials of all the  
 “ gifts of God, which are distributed by  
 “ Christ. We acknowledge, however, that  
 “ there is room to doubt of this ; since  
 “ whatever is made is said to have been  
 “ made by Christ, and that, in some places,  
 “ the Holy Spirit seems to have been con-  
 “ sidered as superior to Christ ; especially as,  
 “ in Isaiah, Christ himself confesses that he  
 “ was sent by the Holy Spirit, as well as  
 “ by the Father,” *Is. xlviii. 16.* “ and like-  
 “ wise that blasphemy against the Holy  
 “ Spirit is more dangerous than blasphemy  
 “ against the Son\*.”

\* Ημεῖς μεντοιγε τρεῖς υποτασεις θεωρομενοι τυγχανειν, του πατρὸς,  
 καὶ υἱου, καὶ το ἁγιον πνευμα, καὶ ἀνενηλον μηδεν εἶπερον το πατρός εἶναι



Afterwards he makes a distinction between those things which God made *in wisdom*, and those made *by wisdom*, i. e. by the Son \*, as if the Spirit had been made by God without the instrumentality of Christ. The following passage is not more determinate. “For the Saviour made both one, and “he being the first fruits of those things that

πιστευόντες, ως ευσχετέρον ἔσται ἀληθές. προσέμεθα το, πάλιν δια τῆς λογῆς γενομένων, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πάλιν εἶναι τιμωμένον, ἔτι ταῦτα πάλιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πατρὸς δια χριστοῦ γεγενημένων. ἔτι ταῦτα αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ αἰτία τῆς μηδὲ αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ χρηματίζειν τὴν θεὰ, μόνῃ τῇ μονογενεῖ φύσει ἀρχῇ τῇ τυγχάνοντι, ἡ χρῆσθαι εἶναι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, διακονῶν αὐτῇ τῇ υποτάσει, ἡ μόνον εἰς τὸ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἔτι σοφὸν εἶναι ἔτι λογικόν, ἔτι δίκαιον, ἔτι πᾶν ὁλοκλήρῃ χρησθαι αὐτὸ νοεῖν τυγχάνειν, καὶ μετοχὴν τῶν προεἰρημένων ἡμῖν χριστὸς ἐπινοῶν. οἶμαι δὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὴν, ὡς εἶπω, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ θεοῦ χαρισμάτων παρεχεῖν τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ ἔτι τὴν μετοχὴν αὐτῆς χρηματίζειν ἁγίοις, τῆς εἰρημένης ὑπὸ τῶν χαρισμάτων, ενεργημένης μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ, διακονημένης ἔτι ὑπὸ τῆς χριστοῦ, υφ' ἑαυτῆς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.—ἔχει δὲ ἐπαπόρρητον δια τῆς τῆς, πάλιν δι' αὐτῆς εὐγενεῖ, ἔτι ἀκολουθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα γεννητὸν οὐ, δια τῆς λογῆς γεγενῆσθαι, πῶς οἶνε προήμασθαι τὴν χριστὸς ἐν τισὶ γραφαῖς, ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἠσαΐα ὁμολογῶντι χριστὸς, ἐκ ὑπο τῆς πατρὸς ἀπεσταλθαι μόνῃ, ἀλλὰ ἔτι ὑπο τῆς ἁγίας πνεύματος, φησὶ γὰρ ἔτι νῦν κύριος ἀπέστειλε με ἔτι τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῆς. ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἀφ' ἑσθὶν μὲν ἐπαγγελλομένη ἐπὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀμαρτίας, ἀποφαίνοντες δὲ περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα βλασφημίας. Comment. vol. 2. p. 57.

\* Πάλιν γὰρ φησὶν, ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας, ἡ δια τῆς σοφίας ἐποίησας. Ibid. p. 59.

“ are

“are made one, I mean of those whose souls  
 “are mixed with the Holy Spirit, and  
 “each of those who are saved becomes  
 “spiritual\*.”

It is evident, from the uncertainty in which Origen appears to have been with respect to this subject, that in his time the doctrine of the church was by no means fixed, and that those who were deemed orthodox thought themselves at liberty to think and write as they pleased about it, without any danger of *heresy*.

Novatian, who had as much orthodoxy with respect to the trinity as any person of his age, certainly did not believe in the divinity of the Holy Spirit, whom he represents as inferior to the Son, whom also he makes greatly inferior to the Father. “Christ,” says he, “is greater than the

\* Πιστοῖνκε γὰρ ὁ σῶτηρ τὰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐν, κατὰ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῶν γινόμενων ἀμφοτέρων ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ πάντων ποιήσας· ἀμφοτέρων δὲ λέγων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐφ’ ὧν ἀνακεράται τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἡ ἐκαστὴ ψυχὴ, καὶ γεγενῆς ἐκαστος τῶν ζῶζομένων πνευματικός. Comment. vol. 2. p. 39.

“Paraclete;



“Paraclete; for he would not receive of  
“Christ, if he was not less than he\*.”

We are not able to trace with certainty the opinion of Cyprian on this subject. But, as he says that it was Christ who spake by the prophets†, he seems to have had no distinct office for the Spirit, and, therefore, probably thought that Christ himself was that Spirit.

It is enumerated among the faults of Lactantius, that “he makes no mention  
“of the Holy Spirit, and that, in his  
“epistles to Demetrianus, as Jerom says,  
“he denied the personality of the Spirit;  
“and according to a Jewish error, con-  
“founded him either with the Father or  
“the Son‡.”

\* Major ergo jam Paraclete Christus est: quoniam nec Paracletus a Christo acciperet, nisi minor Christo esset. Cap. 16. p. 56.

† Sed quanto majora sunt quæ filius loquitur, quæ Dei sermo, qui in prophetis fuit, propria voce testatur. De Oratione Dominica, Opera, p. 139.

‡ *Nævi Lactantii et errores*—Quod spiritum sanctum ne quidem nominet: imo quod in epistolis ad Demetrianum, autore Hieronymo, spiritus sancti substantiam negavit;

“Dionysius of Alexandria,” who is often called the father of Arianism, “spoke very improperly,” says Basil, “with respect to the Holy Spirit, and not admitting of his divinity, reduced him to the rank of a created and servile nature \*.”

Eusebius, who appears to have been as orthodox as other writers of his age with respect to the Son (if his writings may be allowed to testify for him) and who certainly was not *bold in heresy*, scrupled not to consider the Spirit as made by the Son.

“The Holy Spirit,” says he, “is neither God, nor the Son, because he did not derive his birth from the Father, like the Son; but is one of the things that was made by the Son; because all things were made by him, and without him

gavit; et errore Judaice dixit, eum vel ad Patrem referri, vel ad filium; et sanctificationem utriusque personæ sub ejus nomine demonstrari. *Synthesis Doctrinæ Lactantii*, p. 899.

\* Προς δε τούτοις ἡ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀρνήσις φανερὰ, καὶ ἀπεπείσας τὸ πνεῦμα. τῆς προσκυνημένης αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἐξορίζων, ἡ κατὰ τὴν κλίσιν ἡ λειτουργία οὖσα συνριθμῶν. ἡ οὐ μὲν ἀνὴρ, τοιούτος. *Letter to Magnus in Nicephorus's History*, lib. 6. cap. 25. vol. 1. p. 419.

“ was



“ was nothing made \*.” He also speaks of the Holy Spirit as “ holding the third place, as receiving from the logos, and “ imparting valuable gifts to inferior beings, just as the logos receives every “ thing from the Supreme Being †.”

Even Hilary, who wrote so largely concerning the divinity of the Son, seems not to have had the same persuasion concerning that of the Holy Spirit; but, in the little that he says on the subject, seems rather to have considered the Spirit as a divine influence. He represents our Saviour commanding the apostles to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as signifying “ a confession “ of the Father, of the only begotten, and

\* Το δὲ παρακλήσον πνεῦμα, εἴτε θεός, εἴτε υἱός· ἐπεὶ μὴ ἔκ τε πατρὸς ὁμοιωσὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν γενεσὶν εἰληφέν. ἐν δὲ τί τῶν διὰ τὴν υἱὸν γενομένων τυγχάνει, ὅτι δὲ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἐν. Ec. Theol. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 175.

† Ἀλλὰ τίς μὲν, τρεῖς ἔχον τὴν τάξιν, τοῖς υποδεχνομένοις τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κρείττονων δυνάμεων ἐπιχορηγῇ, ὃ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνιλαμβάνει παρ' ἑτέρου τοῦ, ἢ παρὰ θεοῦ λόγου, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἀνώτερον καὶ κρείττονος, ὃν δὴ δευτέρου ἐν φανερῇ τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ ἀγεννήτης φύσεως θεοῦ τὴν παμβασιλείαν. Preparatio, lib. 7. cap. 15. p. 325.

“ of

“ of the gift \*,” which very much resembles what Irenæus says on the subject.

They who said that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son, held that there was a time when only one divine person existed; and again, that there was a time when only two existed, the Holy Spirit not being made †.

## SECTION II.

*Opinions concerning the Holy Spirit after the Council of Nice,*

IT was Athanasius, the great advocate for the divinity of Christ, and his consubstantiality with the Father, who also exerted himself strenuously and effectually in behalf of that of the Holy Spirit, whose

\* Baptizare iussit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti: id est, in confessione et authoris, et unigeniti, et doni. Lib. 2. p. 22.

† Αναδεμαλιζομεν τας φρονεοντας και λεγοντας ην ποτε με-  
τας, μη οντος υιου και ην ποτε δυας, μη οντος αληθινου πνευματος.  
Eugenii Legatio ad Athanasium in Montfaucon's Collectio  
Patrum, vol. 2, p. 3.

divinity



divinity was denied by Macedonius. He informs us, that he was in the deserts of Egypt when he heard of that heresy, and that he wrote from thence to prevent the spread of it \*. He had so much influence in Egypt, that a synod was immediately called there, which he attended, and where the Holy Spirit was for the first time decreed to be consubstantial with the Father and the Son †.

Not long after this, the divinity of the Holy Spirit was more solemnly determined at a council held in Constantinople, and from that time it was deemed equally heretical to deny the divinity of the Spirit, as that of the Son. The doctrine of the trinity now began to assume a proper form

\* Εγώ μὲν οὐ, καίπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ διαγών, διὰ τὴν ἀναιδέειαν τῶν ἐκτραπέντων ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας· ὃ φροῦτισας τῶν ὄχλων ἐδεχόντων. διὰ τὸ ἀδένες καὶ ταπείνων τῆς διασφύλλων λόγων ἐπίδειξας· δι' ὀλίγην γραφὰς, ἀπέστειλα τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ, παρακαλῶν ἵνα ἐκτυγχάνων τούτοις τὰ μὲν διορθώσης· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀδένεσι εἰρημετοῖς συγγινώσκῃς. *Ad Serapion, Opera, vol. 1. p. 207.*

† Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πολλῶν πόλεων ἐπισκοποὶ συνελθόντες εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἀμὰ Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ Εὐσεβίῳ, τὰ δεδογμένα ἐν Νίκαιᾳ κρατύνουσιν· ὁμολογιοὺς τὸ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ὁμολογήσαν, καὶ τριάδα ὀνομάσαν. *Socrumen. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 198.*

and

and consistence, one part of the scheme coming in aid of the other; and there were distinct treatises to prove the divinity of the Spirit, which had never been the subject of discussion before. Then was the doctrine of the perfect equality of the Spirit, and the Son, as well as that of the Son and the Father, fully established; so that among others, Epiphanius asserts that, Whatever is said of the Son is also said of the Spirit, as that they are both *sent*, they both *speak*, they both *sanctify*, they both *heal*, they both *baptize*, &c. and we are *justified* by them both, &c. &c. &c. \*

Still the forms of public worship were unfavourable to the new doctrine, for it had from time immemorial been the custom to *give glory* to the Father only; but about this time, it is said, that “Flavianus  
“ of Antioch, having assembled a number of  
“ monks, first shouted out, *Glory to the Fa-*  
“ *ther, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit*, but  
“ that before him, some had said glory to  
“ the Father through the Son, in the Holy  
“ Spirit, which was the most customary

\* Ancoratus, sect. 68. Opera, vol. 2. p. 71. 73.

“ form;



“form; and others, Glory to the Father  
“in the Son, and the Holy Spirit\*.”

But the new doctrine soon bore down the old forms, especially by the influence of Basil, and the two Gregories, his cotemporaries, who exerted themselves as strenuously in this business as Athanasius had ever done with respect to the divinity of the Son. Basil even maintained, that “to deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit, is “to be guilty of blasphemy against the “Holy Spirit†.” In former times we have seen that many persons were deemed orthodox who only held the divinity of the Son; but Chrysostom says, “it cannot be “that he who halts with respect to the “Spirit, can walk upright with respect to

\* Οτι φησι τον αντηχειας φλαςιαρον, πληθος μοναχων συναγειραντα, πρωτον αναλωσησαι, δοξα πατρι και υιω και αγιω πνευματι. των γαρ προ αυτε, τες μεν, δοξα πατρι δι υιου εν αγιω πνευματι, λεγειν· και ταυτην μαλλον την εκφωνησιν επιτολαζειν· τις δε, δοξα πατρι εν υιω και αγιω πνευματι. Philostorgius, lib. 3. sect. 15. p. 496.

† Εκεινο δ’ αν ηδωκε αυτες εφ’ υμων ερωτησαιμι, και διοριζομαι πεποιδοτας, οτι μεταμελησει σοι ποτε της αδελφου ταυτης σοφιας, κτισμα λεγοντι το πνευμα το αγιον. ε φοβη την ασυγχωρητον αμαρτιαν; η τι ποτε οικει δυσσεβεστερον τετεθυσεν βλασφημειν. Hom. 27. Opera, vol. 1. p. 525.

“ the

“the Son \*.” The description of the Spirit, as issuing from the substance of the Father, from this time very much resembled the former accounts of the generation of the Son from the Father. Thus Cyril of Alexandria says, “The Holy Spirit is  
 “the Spirit of the unbegotten God, and  
 “comes forth from him, has personality  
 “and life, and always exists, being from  
 “that which exists †.”

At this time the formerly innocent doctrine of the Spirit having been created by the Son, or of his being inferior to him, was severely reprobated. Austin says, “he  
 “remembered to have read in some work  
 “of Eusebius, that the Spirit did not un-  
 “derstand the mystery of our Saviour’s  
 “nativity, and he wondered that a man

\* Αμυχρον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸν περὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συζητοῦντα οὐδὲν ποιεῖν περὶ τὸν υἱόν. De Spiritu Sancto, Opera, vol. 6. p. 219.

† Καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνεκτικὸν πνεῦμα θεῶν, ἰσὺν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀπορρεῖ, ἐκπορεύεται τε, καὶ ζῶν, καὶ αἰεὶ ὢν, ὅτι τὸ ὂν ἐστὶν. Contra Julianum, lib. 3. Juliani Opera, vol. π. p. 275.



“of his learning should fix such a blot on  
“the Holy Spirit\*.”

Austin had been led into the belief of the divinity of Christ by the principles of Plato, as he expressly acknowledged; but he owns that Platonism was not very favourable to the doctrine of the divinity of the Spirit. He says, “that he found two  
“principles in Plato, God the Father and  
“the Son, or the divine mind; but he  
“found nothing concerning the Holy Spi-  
“rit, and what the Platonists said of the  
“third principle he did not understand†.”  
Indeed, here it is that Platonism entirely fails those who wish so much to avail them-

\* Memini me in quodum libello Eusebii quondam egregii in reliquis viri, legisse, quia nec spiritus sanctus sciat mysterium nativitatis domini nostri Jesu Christi, et admiror tantæ doctrinæ virum hanc maculam spiritu sancto inflixisse. *Quæstiones Mixtæ. Opera*, vol. 4. p. 865.

† Quæ autem dicat esse principia tanquam Platonius, novimus. Dicit enim Deum patrem et Deum filium, quem Græce appellat paternum intellectum, vel paternam mentem: de spiritu autem sancto, aut nihil, aut non aperte aliquid dicit: quamvis quem alium dicat horum medium, non intelligo. *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 10. cap. 23. *Opera*, vol. 5. p. 577.

elves

selves of it. For the *third principle* of Plato was nothing belonging to the Deity, but either the world, or the soul of the world. "Plato's third principle," says Eusebius, "is the soul of the world \*." And as the world, and the soul of the world, were sometimes considered as different principles, the Platonic principles are sometimes said to be *four*. Justin Martyr says, that "Plato sometimes said there were four principles, making the soul of the universe the fourth, and sometimes he held matter to be created, and again to be uncreated †." Cyril of Alexandria, after mentioning Plato's three principles, "God, idea, and matter," says, "there is a fourth, which he calls the soul of the world ‡."

\* Και τρίτην την τε κόσμου ψυχὴν θεὸν τρίτον καὶ αὐτὴν ὀρίζομενοι εἶναι. Preparatio, lib. II. cap. 19. p. 541.

† Ποτε δὲ τεσσαράς· προσέθησι γὰρ καὶ τὴν καθολὰς ψυχὴν· καὶ αὐτὴς τὴν ὕλην ἀγεννήτην ἀπολεγον εἰρημῶς, ὑπερον γεννητὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγει. Ad Græcos, p. 8.

‡ Τρεῖς δὲ πάντων ὁ Πλάτων τὰς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὰς εἶναι λέγων, θεὸν τε καὶ ὕλην, καὶ εἶδος, προσεπαγεῖ καὶ τελευτήν, ἣν δὴ καὶ οὗτα ψυχὴν ὀνομαζει. Con. Jul. lib. 2. Juliani Opera, vol. 2. p. 48.



Still, however, the orthodox christians were very desirous of making out something of a trinity in the doctrine of Plato; and Justin Martyr and others imagined they saw it so clearly, that they were confident it must have been derived from the scriptures. Thus Clemens Alexandrinus imagined, from his construction of the language of Plato, that he had a knowledge of the trinity, and that he learned it from Moses, alledging the two passages that have been already quoted from Plato, viz. that concerning *the oath* in the epistle to Erastus, &c. and that concerning *the king of all*, in the epistle to Dionysius, which may be seen in vol. 1. p. 334. 350 \*. But this has been shewn to be a thing very different from the christian trinity.

\* Σιωπῶ γὰρ Πλάτωνα. ἀνὴρ υἱὸς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εἰρατον καὶ Κορίνθου ἐπιστολῇ φαίνεται πατέρα καὶ υἱόν, καὶ οὐδ' ὅπως, ἐκ τῶν ἑβραίων γραφῶν ἐμφανῶν — Ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ εἴπῃ, περὶ τοῦ πάντων Βασιλέως πάντα ἐστὶ, κακίης ἐνέμεν τὰ πάντα· κακίην αἰὶον ἀπάντων καλῶν· δεύτερον δὲ, περὶ τὰ δεύτερα· καὶ τρίτον, περὶ τὰ τρίτα· καὶ ἄλλως ἐγγύς ἐξακῶν, ἢ τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα μνηνεῖσθαι· τρίτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι, τὸ ἁγίου πνεῦμα· τὸν υἱὸν δὲ, δεύτερον, διὰ πάντα ἐγένετο κατὰ βολήν τῶ πατρὸς. Strom. lib. 5. p. 598:

The resemblance between the christian and the Platonic trinity is very imperfect, as it fails entirely in both the essential circumstances. For it was never imagined that the three component members of the Platonic trinity were either *equal* to each other, or strictly speaking *one*. But then, neither had this been the language of those who introduced the doctrine of the trinity. For they went little farther than the proper principles of Plato, without pretending either to make a perfect *equality*, or a perfect *unity* of the three persons; and therefore, they did not maintain that this doctrine was so very *mysterious* and *unintelligible* as it was afterwards represented to be.

Notwithstanding the doctrine of the trinity seemed to be completed by means of the divinity and personality of the Spirit, and in some respects it seemed better guarded against attacks, there were still some awkward circumstances attending it. The Spirit being a divine person as well as the Son, and yet, like the Son, not absolutely underived, there was some difficulty in settling the mode of his derivation. The



term *generation* had been already appropriated to the Son, and it had also been settled that there could be only *one son* produced in that manner, Christ being denominated *the only begotten Son of God*. Fortunately the Spirit was said to *proceed* from the Father, or the Son, or from both; and though, in the scriptures, this meant nothing more than his being *sent* by the Father, or the Son; and this being *sent* was only a figurative expression, denoting the imparting those powers which came from God, this term *proceeding* was immediately laid hold of, as expressing the manner of the emission of the Spirit from the fountain of deity, and was deemed to be different from *generation*. But then there was great difficulty in determining in what that difference consisted. "The nativity of the Son," says Austin, "differs from the procession of the Spirit, otherwise they would be brothers\*."

\* Sic enim videbis quid distet nativitas verbi Dei a processione doni Dei, propter quod filius unigenitus non de patre genitum, alioquin frater ejus esset, sed procedere dixit spiritum sanctum. De Trinitate, lib. 15. cap. 27, Opera, vol. 3. p. 476.

But

But notwithstanding all the ingenuity of the orthodox, nothing more than a mere verbal distinction could ever be made between a mysterious *generation* and an equally mysterious *procession*. “What is the difference,” says the Macedonian, in the dialogue on this subject, ascribed to Athanasius, “between *generated* and *proceeding*.” The orthodox disputant answers “Do not inquire into this difference, for it is incomprehensible. Attend to what is commanded you, and inquire no farther. You are commanded to believe that the Son is begotten, and that the Spirit proceeded. All other things, as the heaven, the earth, the sea, and things rational, and irrational, are creatures\*.”

It was generally thought, however, that there was something more intelligible in the

\* Καὶ τις ἡ διαφορὰ τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως; ΟΡΘ. Τὴν διαφορὰν μὴ περιεργάζε· ἡ γὰρ καὶ ἀληθινή, ἀλλ' αἱ προσέλαγες σοι, ταῦτα διάνυ, καὶ περαιτέρω τέλων μὴ ἐξέλαιζε. Προσέλαγες δὲ σοι τὸ πιστεῦναι, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς γεννᾶται, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεται. Τα δὲ ἀλλὰ πᾶσι, ἄρανος, γῆ θαλάσσης, καὶ τὰ ἐν αἰσὶν λογικὰ καὶ ἀλογα, κτισμάτια εἰσι, καὶ ἐνλόγον αὐτὴς τὰ θεὰ κτισθέντα. Opera, vol. 2. p. 276.



doctrine of *generation* than in that of *pro-  
cession*. For Basil says, "The Son is pro-  
duced from the Father by generation,  
"but the Spirit in an ineffable manner\*."  
There is an air of still greater modesty in  
what Gr. Nazianzen says on the subject.  
"It is peculiar," says he, "to the Father  
"to be unbegotten, to the Son to be be-  
"gotten, and to the Holy Spirit to pro-  
ceed. If you inquire the manner *why*,  
"should you not leave it to themselves,  
"who have declared that they only know  
"each other, and to those of us who may  
"be illuminated about it hereafter†."

Austin says that the Holy Spirit, being  
the Spirit of both the Father and the Son, pro-  
ceeds from them both; and this he makes  
to be the difference between the generation  
of the Son, and the procession of the Spirit.  
"It is peculiar," he says, "to the son of

\* Αλλ' ο μὲν υἱός, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννῆται· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα, ἀρρήτως  
ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. Hom. 27. Opera, vol. I. p. 526.

† Ἰδίον δὲ, πατὴρ μὲν, ἢ ἀγεννησία, υἱὸς δὲ ἡ γεννήσις, πνεύματος  
δὲ, ἡ ἐκπεμψίς. εἰ δὲ τοῦ τρόπου ἐπιζητῆς, τί καὶ ἀνέλπεις τοῖς μόνοις  
γινώσκειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ γινώσκεισθαι ὡς ἀλλήλων μαρτυρούμενοις, ἢ καὶ ἡμῶν  
τοῖς ἐκείθεν ἐλαχιστοῦσι ὑτέρον. Or. 23. Opera, p. 422.

“man to proceed from two,” meaning of different sexes. “Far be this from the Son of God, &c.\*”

Cyril of Alexandria seems to think that he had some idea of the nature of the procession of the Spirit from the substance of God, when he says, that “Christ breathed upon his disciples, to shew that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the divine substance, as the breath of man proceeds from him†.”

There was likewise another difficulty with respect to the Holy Spirit being said to be *sent by the Son*, from which some con-

\* Quæro quid distat inter nativitatem filii et processionem spiritus sancti? Filius autem solus est patris, non spiritus sancti. Amborum inquam spiritus, id est patris et filii. Quod si spiritus, sanctus filius esse diceretur, nullus autem filius est nisi duorum, patris et matris, quod absit ut sit inter deum patrem et filium tale quid suspicemur, quia nec filius hominis simul ex patre procedit et ex matre. Questiones, 65. Opera, vol. 4. p. 679.

† Sed quemadmodum unusquisque nostrum, proprium in seipso spiritum continet, et ab intimis visceribus ad exteriora profundit: propterea corporaliter Christus sufflavit: ostendens hoc signo, quia quemadmodum ab ore humano corporaliter humanus spiritus procedit, sic ex divina substantia deitati congruenter spiritus, qui ab ea est, profunditur. In Joan lib. 9. p. 936.

cluded



cluded that, in his origin, he issued from the Son, as well as from the Father; and this doctrine prevailed in the Latin church; whereas the Greeks held that the Spirit proceeded from the Father only. To the objection that if the Spirit be God, the Father has two Sons, Epiphanius replies, that “the Spirit proceedeth both from the Father and the Son\*.” Damascenus says, that “the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, and rests in the Son†.” But Basil seems to have considered the Spirit as deriving his being from the Son only. For he says, “As the Son is the *logos* of the Father, so the Spirit is the word [*ρημα*] of the Son. For it is said that he,” meaning the Son, “supporteth all things by the word of his power‡.” The ancients are said by M. Caleca to have believed that

\* Το δε αγιον πνευμα το παρ αμφοτερων. Ancoratus, sect. 71. Opera, vol. 2. p. 75.

† Eodam modo etiam in spiritum sanctum credimus, qui dominus est, et vivificat, qui ex patre procedit, et in filio conquiescit. Orthod. Fid. lib. 1. cap. 10. Opera, p. 268.

‡ Δια ταυτο η δεξ μεν λογος ο υιος, ρημα δε υιου το πνευμα. φερων γαρ, φησι, τα παντα τω ρηματι της δυναμεως αυτης. Ad Eunom. lib. 5. Opera, vol. 1. p. 787.

“the

“ the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father through the Son\*.” So miserably do men bewilder themselves, when they leave the path of simple truth, abandoning reason, to follow mere imagination,

### SECTION III.

*Of the proper Office of the Spirit with respect to the Offices of the Father and the Son.*

**T**HERE being now *three* divine persons instead of *one*, there was a farther difficulty in adjusting their several provinces, for each divine person must have an employment suited to his character. This arrangement being left to men, who can seldom agree, a considerable difference of opinion unavoidably arose in this case. However, after much discussion, it was at

\* Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται λέγουσιν, οἱ αὐτοὶ τῆς πρώτης μερὲς τῆς ἑσυχαστικῆς συνόδου διαλαμπαντες. Combes Auctuarium, vol. 2. p. 216.



length settled, at least for a long time, that all the three divine persons acted jointly in every operation in which any of them was concerned. But before it was determined in this manner, divines were much employed in settling the proper department of the Holy Spirit, after having agreed before, that the Son was the maker of all things under the Father.

For some time it was generally thought that the Father was the only prime *cause*, the *fountain of deity*, the Son his immediate agent in the creation, and that the Spirit was the *sanctifier*, or the *perfecter* of every thing. "There are three," says Basil, "the Father ordaining, the Son executing, and the Spirit perfecting\*." "The Father," says M. Caleca, "is distinguished as the primary cause, the Son as the creator, and the Spirit as the perfecter †."

\* Τρία τοιούτων νοεῖς, τὸν προαΐτιον κυρίον, τὸν δημιουργὸν λόγον, τοῦ γενεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. De Sp. S. cap. 16. Opera, vol. 2. p. 325.

† Δια τῶν τὴν προκαταρτίαν αἰῶνα ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τὸν πατέρα τὴν δημιουργίαν, τὸν υἱὸν τὴν τελειώσιν, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Combefis Auctuarium, vol. 2. p. 209.

It

It appears most clearly from Eusebius, that to *sanctify* and to *perfect* meant the same thing. In the interpretation of Ps. xxxiii. 6. *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth*, he says, "By these we are to understand our Saviour, and the Holy Spirit, for both co-operated in the creation of the heavens and their host—For nothing is sanctified without the presence of the Spirit. The word, being the *demiurgus*, introduced the angels into being, but the Holy Spirit gave their *sanctification*; for the angels were not created infants\*."

But though it had been settled by most of the Fathers, that the *logos*, or the Son, was the medium of all the divine communications of God to man in the Old Testa-

\* ἵνα νοηθῇ ὁ σῶτης καὶ τὸ ἅγιον αὐτῆς πνεῦμα. ἀμφότερα δὲ συντηρήσιν ἐν τῇ κτίσει τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς δυνάμεων· διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηλαί· τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ πύργοι ἐπεσώθησαν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τὰ σῶματα αὐτῆς πάντα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἁγιαζέσθαι ἐμὴ τῇ παρούσῃ τῷ πνεύματι· ἀγγέλων γὰρ τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ εἶναι παροδόν, ὁ δημιουργὸς λόγος ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων παρέχετο· τὸν ἁγιασμόν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον συνεπέφερεν· ὃ γὰρ ὑψηλοὶ πιστεύοντες οἱ ἄγγελοι. Monfaucon's Collectio, vol. i. p. 124.

ment,



ment, it was now generally thought proper to take from him the province of inspiring the prophets, and to leave to him only the visible appearances to Abraham, Moses, and others. Irenæus says it was the Spirit of God that spake by the prophets and the apostles \*. Ambrose says, “it was the same spirit by which Moses and Aaron performed miracles in Egypt, and who spake by Moses, the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles.†.” “The Spirit,” says Cyril of Jerusalem, “operates in the law and the prophets‡.”

\* Unus enim et idem spiritus Dei, qui in prophetis quidem præconavit, quis et qualis esset adventus domini, in senioribus autem interpretatus est bene quæ bene prophetata fuerant; ipse et in apostolis annunciavit, plenitudinem temporum adoptionis venisse, et proximasse regnum cælorum, et inhabitare intra homines credentes in eum, qui ex virgine natus est Emmanuel. Lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 256.

† Ille est, in quo Moyse et Aaron coram Pharaone rege Ægypti signa fecerunt, et de quo magi dixerunt: Hic digitus Dei est. Ille est, qui in Moyse et in omnibus sanctis patriarchis et prophetis atque apostolis locutus est. In Symbol. cap. 6. Opera, vol. 4. p. 91.

‡ Το εν νομοις η προφηταις ενεργησαν. Cat. 4. Opera, p. 55.

Hippolytus

Hippolytus says that “the Fathers were  
 “inspired by the Spirit, and also honoured  
 “by the logos itself, being united to them  
 “as an instrument, having the logos always  
 “in them, as a *plectrum*, by which being  
 “moved, the prophets declared whatever  
 “God chose\*.”

With respect to the Father and the Son,  
 personally considered, it does not appear that  
 any particular province, or agency, was  
 assigned to the Spirit, except the mere  
*proceeding* from one or both of them, till  
 Synesius called him the “center of the Fa-  
 “ther and the Son †;” and M. Victorinus  
 called him “the *copula* of the Father and  
 “the Son ‡.” But what they meant by  
 these expressions is best known to them-  
 selves.

\* ΟΥΤΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΚΩ ΟΙ ΠΑΤΕΡΕΣ ΚΑΤΗΓΕΤΙΣΜΕΝΟΙ, Κ' ΥΠ'  
 ΑΥΤΩ ΤΩ ΛΟΓΩ ΑΞΙΩΣ ΤΕΤΙΜΗΜΕΝΟΙ, ΟΡΓΑΝΩΝ ΔΙΔΗΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΝΩΜΕΝΟΙ, ΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ  
 ΕΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΑΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΩΣ ΠΛΗΚΤΡΟΝ, ΔΙ' Ε ΚΑΝΕΜΕΝΟΙ ΑΠΗΓΕΛΛΟΝ ΤΑΥΤΑ,  
 ΑΠΕΡ' ΗΘΕΛΕΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ, ΟΙ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΙ. De Antichristo, Opera, p. 5.

† Χαίροις δ' αμραντ' τ' νοια

Κεντρον κορυς κ' πατρος. Hymn 5. Opera, p. 342

‡ Adesto sancte spiritus, patris et filii copula.

Tu cum quiescis pater es, cum procedis filius.

In unum qui cuncta nectis, tu es spiritus sanctus. De  
 Trinitate Hymnus. Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 360.

It



It was necessary, however, that the Spirit should be no cypher in the system; and that, being a *person*, he should have the power of voluntary action. Accordingly, it is observed by Basil, that, “ though the Spirit be *sent*, according to the œconomy, “ he was no servant, but acted voluntarily \*.”

Creation is generally ascribed to the Son; but Basil maintains, that “ because it is “ said, by the word of the Lord were the “ heavens made, and all the host of them “ by the breath of his mouth, all things “ were created equally by the Son and the “ Spirit †.” In another place he adds a farther argument from Ps. cxix. 73. *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me.* He also says, that the supernatural body of Christ was the work of the Spirit ‡.

\* Αποτελλεται μεν οικονομικως, ενεργει δε αυτεξουσως. De Fide, Opera, vol. i. p. 432.

† Επει εν λογω κυρι ο σωτηρ, κ' πνευμα τε σωματος αυτου το αγιον πνευμα, αμφοτερα δε συνεργησε τη κτισει των υρανων, κ' των εν αιλοις δυναμεων. δια τωτο ειρηται τω λογω κυρι οι υρανων εγερωθησαν, κ' τω πνευματι τε σωματος αυτου πασα η δυναμις αυτων. In Ps. 32. Opera, vol. i. p. 175.

‡ Οτι δημιουργον το πνευμα—Οι υρανι διηυσθαι δοξαν θεου, ποιησιν δε χειρων αυτου αναγγελει το γερωμα. κ' εν ελεω κ' τα εργα των

“ That the Holy Spirit *can* create, is evident,” says Athanasius, or one who borrows his name, “ from the body of our Lord; the angel saying, that holy thing which shall be born of thee is of the Holy Spirit\*.” “ When the logos came into the virgin, the Holy Spirit accompanied him, and the logos, by the Spirit, formed to himself a body†.” To this making by the Holy Spirit, the Arians having objected that Christ must be the Son of the Spirit, the orthodox speaker in the dialogue above mentioned admits, that “ Jesus was produced by the Holy Spirit; but he says, it is a *making*, not a *generating* ‡.”

That the Spirit might be employed by the Father as well as the Son, was proved

των χειρων ου εισιν οι θεοι — αι χειρες σε επλασαν με, & εποισαν με — ει τοιουν το υπερνοσμιον σωμα χρις εκ πνευματος εστιν αγιος. Adv. Eunomium, lib. 5. Opera, vol. 3. p. 778.

\* Οτι δε δυναται κτισαι το πνευμα το αγιον, εδειχθη εκ της κυριανης σωματος, της αγγελου ειρηνης. το γαρ εν αυτη γενησεν εκ πνευματος εστιν αγιος. Con. Mac. Dial. 1. Opera, vol. 2. p. 174.

† Ουτως & επι την αγιαν παρθενον μαριαν επιδημιος τε λογος, συντηχετο το πνευμα. & ο λογος εν τω πνευματι, επλασθη & ηρμοσθη βασιλω το σωμα. Ad Serapion, Opera, vol. 1. p. 207.

‡ Η γενεσις ειπεν, ουχι η γεννησις. Dial. 3. Athanasii, Opera, vol. 2. p. 233.



by things being said to be done by the finger of God. For *the finger of God*, they said, means the Spirit; as when Christ said, *If I by the finger of God cast out demons*. The two tables of stone, therefore, being said to be written by the finger of God, were thought to be engraved by the Spirit. This was the opinion of Ambrose, who proves it by shewing, that what is called the Spirit of God in one evangelist, is called the finger of God in another\*.

The Spirit is generally stiled the *vivifier*, as if Christ made only the outward forms of

\* Legem quoque ipsam per spiritum sanctum datam accepimus et scriptam. Dicit enim Moyses: et dedit dominus duas tabulas lapideas digito Dei scriptas. Digitum autem Dei spiritum sanctum dici, evangelia manifestant. Cum enim dominus dæmonem ejecisset, et accusaretur a Judæis, quod in Beelzebub principe dæmoniorum, dæmonia expelleret: secundum Lucam quidem respondisse perhibetur, quod si ego in digito Dei expello dæmonia; secundum Matthæum vero, si autem ego in spiritu Dei ejicio dæmones. Unde manifestum est spiritum digitum Dei dici. De Sp. Opera, vol. 5. p. 523.

Iste est in quo Moyses et Aaron coram Pharaone rege Ægypti signa fecerunt, et de quo magi dixerunt: hic digitus Dei est. Iste est, qui in Moyse et in omnibus sanctis patriarchis et prophetis et apostolis locutus est. In Symb. Opera, vol. 4. p. 91.

things

things, whereas to give them *life and motion* was the province of the Spirit. This is said to have been expressed by the *Spirit moving upon the face of the waters*. But on this subject a ray of good sense beams upon us in Theodoret, who says, that “this Spirit means the wind\*.” He seems, however, to have been singular in this opinion.

The vivifying even the body of Christ was thought by Basil to be the office of the Holy Spirit†. And Cyril of Jerusalem says, that “the Holy Spirit was imparted to the humanity of Christ at his baptism‡.” To this it might be said, that the proper divinity belonging to Christ

\* Τις δοκει το παναγιον πνευμα ζωογονει των υδατων την φυσιν, & διαγραφει την τε βαπτισμματος χαριν. αληθεστερον μεντοι ενειναι ομαι τον λογον, οτι το πνευμα εισαυδα τον αερα καλει. ειπων χαρ, οτι τον κρανον & την γην εποησε, & των υδατων δια της αδυσης μνησθεις, αναλ- καιως & τε αερος εμνησθη, εκ της τε υδατος επιφανειας μεχρι τε κρανυ διηκονος. αερος γαρ φυσιν, το τοις κατω κειμενοις επιφερεσθαι σωμασι.  
In Gen. Opera, vol. 1. p. 8.

† Το δε πνευμα — αγιαζον την κλινιν, & ζωοποιον, & χρισμα εφ’ ημιν ον, ηδη δε & εν αυτη τε κυριε σαρκι. Hom. 17. Opera, vol. 1. p. 439.

‡ Εδει γαρ, ως εξηγησαντο τινες τας απαρχας, & τα προηλθα τε αγια πνευματος των βαπτιζομενων τη ανθρωπολη τη σωτηρος παρασχεν, τε την τοιαυτην διδουλος χαριν. Cat. 17. Opera, p. 244.



himself might have sufficed. But Chrysostom says, "When God, the *logos*, took  
 "flesh of us, he fashioned it according to  
 "the form of man, or one of the prophets,  
 "or as one of the apostles; receiving the  
 "Holy Spirit; not that the divinity of  
 "the Son was not sufficient, but that the  
 "perfect knowledge of the trinity might  
 "be shewn in that creation," i. e. the flesh  
 of Christ \*.

Austin doubted whether it was right to  
 call the Holy Spirit the *goodness* of the Fa-  
 ther, and of the Son; but he had less scru-  
 ple to say that he was the *sanctity* of them  
 both †. This, however, could not respect

\* Οταν δε αναλαβη ο θεος λογος την σαρκα την εξ ημων ποιει αυτην  
 παλα τον ανθρωπινον τυπον, ως ενα των προφητων, η ως ενα των αποστο-  
 λων. δεχομενην πνευμα αγιον. ειπον προλαβων, εκ ως μη αρκει της  
 θεοτητος τς υις, αλλ' ινα ενεδος της τριαδος η γνωσις εν τω πτασματι  
 τςλω δευχθη. De Sp. S. Opera, vol. 6, p. 213.

† Utrum autem boni patris, et boni filii, spiritus sanc-  
 tus, quia communis ambobus est, recte *bonitas* dici potest  
 amborum, non audeo temerariam præcipitare sententiam;  
 veruntamen ambobus eum dicere *sanctitatem* facilius ausus  
 fuero, non amborum quasi qualitatem, sed ipsum quoque  
 substantiam, et tertiam in trinitate personam. De Civi-  
 tate Dei, lib. 11. cap. 23. Opera, vol. 5, p. 639.

the humanity of Christ, because the Father had no human nature. This might be construed to imply, that he thought the Spirit to be a *property* only, and not a *person*, if he had not been well known to hold the Holy Spirit to be the third person in the trinity.

Still more has the language of Cyril of Alexandria the appearance of his supposing that the Holy Spirit was only a property, or some divine grace, when he says, “The *peace* which our Lord gave his disciples *was* the Holy Spirit\*.” With equal impropriety Gregory Nyssen says, that “the *glory* which Christ had with the Father *before* the world was, meant the Holy Spirit. For then,” he says, “nothing *existed* but the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; and that persons so distinct could *not* be united, but by the participation *of* the same Spirit†.” This, if it had

\* Pax ergo quæ principatus—excedit, Christi spiritus est, in quo Deo patri universa filius reconciliavit. In John. lib. 10. cap. 7. Opera, vol. 1. p. 936.

† Δόξαν γὰρ ἠκούδα λέγειν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ ἐδόκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς διὰ τὴν προσφυσμαῖος. ἡ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀλλοίως ἐνδοκίματαις ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων διεκρίσας, μὴ τῇ ἐνοσίῃ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁμοφύεμενες. 1a Cor. xv. 28. Opera, vol. 1. p. 849.



not been equally dark itself, might have thrown some light on the Spirit being called the *copula* of the Father and the Son, quoted above.

This uncertain distribution of offices not giving satisfaction to Ambrose and Austin, it was determined by them, that all the three persons in the trinity always act jointly in all their respective operations. Indeed, Eusebius had said that “the Father, Son, and Spirit, are all principles (*αρχαι*) \*.” Also, that they were each *capable* of the functions of the others had been allowed; but it had been said that they *chose* to confine themselves to certain operations. “Christ,” says Cyril of Jerusalem, “made angels and archangels, thrones and dominions; not that the Father wanted a creative power, but that he chose that the Son should reign over the works of his own hands, and gave him the government of the things which he had made†.”

\* Οἱ δὲ γὰρ θεοὶ λόγοι, τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν τριάδα, πατὴρ καὶ υἱός, καὶ ἅγιος πνεῦμας, ἐν ἀρχῇς λόγῳ ταῖς τρεῖσι. *Præparatio*, lib. 11. cap. 19. p. 541.

† Πᾶσι ἐποίησεν ὁ χριστὸς καὶ ἀγγέλους λεγούς, καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, καὶ κυριότητες, καὶ θρόνους. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ πατὴρ ἵσταναι περὶ τῶν τῶν δημιουργημάτων.

“The Father,” says Basil, “had no need of  
 “the Son, though he operated by him;  
 “but he chose to do so; nor does the Son  
 “want assistance, when he operates like the  
 “Father; but he chose to perfect every  
 “thing by the Spirit.” “As the Fa-  
 “ther,” says Theodoret, “could have  
 “created without the Son, but did it not,  
 “to shew the identity of his nature; so the  
 “Son could have sanctified man with-  
 “out the Spirit, but did it with the Spirit,  
 “that what was done might be the work  
 “of the Father, Son, and Spirit †.”

As if an *equal capacity* for every thing  
 had not been a sufficient argument of *equal*

μάταια αὐτοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅτι βασιλευσὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιτημένων τοῦ υἱοῦ  
 ἡβληθῆ, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ παρέχων τῶν καλῶς πεποιημένων τὴν ὑψηλότητα  
 Cat. II. Opera, p. 146.

\* Οὕτω γὰρ ἂν εἴη πατήρ προσδεχόμενος υἱόν, μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ δι-  
 μιζόντων, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦς θεοὶ καὶ πεφυκε δια μὴ. καὶ ἂν ὁ υἱὸς συνεργῇ  
 προσδεχόμενος, καὶ ὁμοιότητά τε πατρὸς ἐνεργῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς θεοὶ  
 καὶ πεφυκε δια τὸ πνεῦμα τέλει. De Sp. S. cap. 16. Opera,  
 vol. 2. p. 325.

† Ὡς περ ὁ πατήρ, δυναμὶς ἐστὶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, μέλας τε νύκ-  
 τος, ἵνα δείχῃ τὸ ταύτον τῆς φύσεως· εἰ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς, δυναμὶς ἐστὶν  
 αἰῶνος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, μέλας τε πνεύματος αἰῶνος δείχῃ τὸ  
 γεγονὸς ἐργὸν πατρὸς, καὶ νύκτος, καὶ αἰῶνος πνεύματος. Dial. Adv.  
 Macedonian, Opera, vol. 5. p. 343.



power, the three persons were represented as all actually bearing a part in every operation. A treatise ascribed to Athanasius is the first in which I have found this sentiment, as applied to the body of Christ. "How," says the Macedonian, "does Solomon say *wisdom has builded herself a house*." Orthodox. "Because all the works of the Father are also those of the Son, and of the Spirit; and, therefore, it is sometimes said to be the Father's, sometimes the Son's, and sometimes the Holy Spirit's \*."

But it is in Ambrose, as I have observed, that this system of *joint operation* appears most complete. "The holy and undivided trinity," he says, "never does any thing separately." He instances in the incarnation, the voice from heaven, at the baptism of Christ, &c.† "What one

\* Πως ειπεν ο Σολομων, Η Σοφια οικοδομησεν εαυτη οικον; ΟΡΘ. Τηλο γαρ εστιν ο λεγων, οτι παντα τα εργα τε πατρος, κ' τε υιου, κ' τε αγιου πνευματος εστι. κ' δια τηλο ποτε τε πατρος λεγειται, ποτε τε υιου, ποτε τε αγιου πνευματος. Opera, vol. 2. p. 233.

† Quia sancta et inseparabilis trinitas numquam aliquid extra se singillatim operari noverit. In Symb. Opera, vol. 4. p. 93.

" speaks

“ speaks, they all speak; for there is one  
 “ voice of the trinity\*.” “ The Father,  
 “ Son, and Spirit, created the body of  
 “ Christ; the Father, because it is said  
 “ *God sent his Son made of a woman*; the  
 “ Son because it is said *wisdom has builded*  
 “ *her a house*; and the Spirit because *Mary*  
 “ *was with child by the Spirit†.*” He  
 represents all the persons as present at  
 the baptism of Jesus, “ the Spirit under a  
 “ corporeal form, and the Father, because  
 “ he could not be seen, was heard‡.”

Austin, who generally followed the steps  
 of his master Ambrose in other things, did

\* Quod unus loquitur, tres loquuntur, quia vox una  
 est trinitatis. In Luc. lib. 10, Opera, vol. 2. p. 203.

† Et etenim sicut legimus quia creavit pater dominicæ  
 incarnationis sacramentum, creavit et spiritus: ita etiam  
 legimus quod et ipse Christus suum corpus creavit. Creavit  
 enim pater, secundum quod scriptum est: dominus creavit  
 me—et alibi: misit Deus filium suum factum ex muliere  
 factum sub lege. Creavit et spiritus illud omne mysterium,  
 secundum quod legimus; quia inventa est Maria in utero  
 habens ex spiritu sancto. De Sp. S. lib. 2. cap. 8. Opera,  
 vol. 4. p. 241.

‡ Videmus spiritum, sed specie corporali: videamus et  
 patrem; sed qui videre non possumus, audiamus. In  
 Luc. cap. 3. Opera, vol. 2. p. 41.



it in this. He says, in general, that “in  
 “ whatever the trinity acts, it operates in-  
 “ separably, because there is one operation  
 “ of the trinity, as it is one substance,  
 “ essence, and will \*.” “The whole tri-  
 “ nity,” he says, “reconciled us to itself, as  
 “ the whole trinity made the word flesh †.”  
 He says that “the appearances of God in  
 “ the Old Testament, might be of God  
 “ in general, or of the whole trinity, or of  
 “ the Father, Son, or Spirit, according to  
 “ the circumstances of the passage ‡.” “The  
 “ voice from heaven, *I have glorified it, and*  
 “ *will glorify it again*, was from the whole

\* Quicquid operatur trinitas sancta inseparabiliter hæc eadem operatur, quia una est trinitatis operatio sicut una est substantia essentia et voluntas. *Questiunculæ ex libris de Trinitate, Opera, vol. 3. p. 1038.*

† Trinitas enim nos sibi reconciliavit, per hoc quod solum verbum carnem ipsa trinitas fecit. *De Fid. cap. 2. Opera, vol. 3. p. 217.*

‡ Tam enim quæsitum atque tractatum est, in illis antiquis corporibus formis et visis, non tantummodo patrem, nec tantummodo filium, nec tantummodo spiritum sanctum apparuisse sed aut indifferenter dominum deum qui trinitas ipsa intelligitur aut quamlibet ex trinitate personam, quam lectionis textus indiciis circumstantibus significaret. *De Trinitate, lib. 3. cap. 1. Opera, vol. 3. p. 281.*

“trinity.”

“trinity\*.” He says that he was the first who taught that doctrine.

This doctrine of the joint operation of all the persons in the trinity, though most conspicuous in Ambrose and Austin, is not peculiar to them. It appears in Epiphanius and Basil. “All works,” says the former, “are the joint production of the Father, “Son, and Spirit †.” “In every operation,” says Basil, “the Holy Spirit co-operates with the Father and the Son ‡.” We find the same in Theophylact, who

\* Omnes quos legere potui qui ante me scripserunt de trinitate, quæ est Deus, divinorum librorum veterum et novorum catholici tractatores, hoc intenderunt secundum scripturas docere, quod pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, unius ejusdemque substantiæ inseparabili æqualitate divinum insinuent unitatem.—Nec eandem trinitatem dixisse de cælo: Tu es filius meus: sive cum baptizatus est a Johanne, sive in montem quum cum illo erant tres discipuli: aut quem sonuit vox, dicens: et clarificavi et iterum clarificabo: sed tantummodo patris vocem fuisse ad filium factum quamvis pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, sicut inseparabiles sunt. Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 242.

† Πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἔργα οὕτως εἶναι, ἀπὸ πατρὸς, καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος γεγενῆσθαι. Hæc. 71. Opera, vol. 1. p. 832.

‡ Οὕτως δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ συναφῆς καὶ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ πάσαν ἐνέργειαν ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος διδασκόμεν. De Sp. S. cap. 16. Opera, vol. 2. p. 324.

says,



says, "Where there is one person of the  
" holy trinity, there are all \*."

Idacius Clarus shews at large, that "all the  
" attributes of the Father, Son, and Spirit,  
" are common, as those of God, Lord, holy,  
" prince, king, judge, true, just, strong.  
" They are all judges, they all operate, they  
" are all lofty. They have in common, the  
" appellations of fire, light, good, great,  
" virtue, fountain, river, &c." and thus he  
proceeds to near an hundred instances †.

Cyril of Alexandria proves this doctrine  
from our Saviour's saying that *he could do  
nothing without the Father*; meaning, he  
says, that "he was consubstantial with  
" him; having equal power, the same will,  
" and the same co-operation ‡."

\* *Εἷς ὁ γὰρ μὴ ὑποστάσις τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, ἐκεῖ ὅτι αὐτοὶ πάντες.*  
In Rom. cap. 8. Opera, vol. 2. p. 75.

† Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 419.

‡ Non potest enim filius facere a seipso quid, nisi acci-  
piat posse a patre. Quoniam autem æqualis operis et ro-  
boris se esse novit, ostendit quod unam ac eandem habeat  
cum ipso patre substantiam, et ipse adoptat per se ad faci-  
enda, una volitione ad quodlibet simul vadens cum geni-  
tore, et ad idem opes consilium in omnibus, communibus  
quibusdam divinitatis legibus, simul concedens. De Tri-  
nitate, lib. 6. Opera, vol. 2. p. 464.

S E C.

## SECTION IV.

*Of the Arguments for the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.*

THE reasoning of the Fathers concerning the divinity of the Holy Spirit lies in a much smaller compass than that concerning the divinity of the Son. One principal reason of this is, that so little mention is made of the Holy Spirit in the scriptures, and still less that can possibly be construed into an evidence of his being a divine person. This is a circumstance that could not escape notice, and which required to be accounted for by the orthodox. Among others, Epiphanius has advanced a reason which is curious enough. It goes upon the idea of the Holy Spirit being that person of the three which immediately dictated the scriptures. He says, that “the Holy Spirit says little concerning himself, that he might not commend himself; the scriptures being written to  
“ give



"give us examples\*." I imagine, however, that the good Father would not have been sorry if the Holy Spirit had been less observant of this punctilio; as it would have made the defence of their favourite doctrine of the trinity much easier than, in the present state of things, they found it to be. For it was constantly observed by their adversaries, that the Holy Spirit is never once called God in all the New Testament.

Antiquity, also, and the established forms of public worship, were, in that age, strongly urged against the novel doctrine of the divinity of the Spirit. Basil particularly complains of his having been pressed by this argument, though he endeavours to defend himself, saying, that the authority of Gregory Theumaturgus, his predecessor in the see of Neocæsarea, and whose memory was almost idolized in that country, was not against him, as his adversaries pretended.

† Καὶ ὡς μὴ τις εἴπῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἑνὸς καὶ ἑνὸς διηγέσθαι; καὶ εἰδὲ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοσυζαῖον αὐτὸ γενέσθαι ἑαυτοῦ. αὐτὸ γὰρ φωνήσεται ἢ δεῖα γραφὴ υπογράμμιος ἡμῶν γινώσθαι. *Heer. 53. Opera, vol. 1. p. 475. 485.*

He likewise urges the authority of Firmilian \*. But of this the people must have been as good judges as the bishop.

We have happily preserved to us the established forms of prayer and benediction in the writings of Justin Martyr, who, in his account of the administration of the Lord's supper, says, that the minister "offers praise and glory to the Father of all, " in the name of the Son, and of the Holy " Spirit †." Again, he says, " For every " thing that we eat we give thanks to the " maker of all things, by his Son Jesus " Christ, and by the Holy Spirit ‡."

Moreover, in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, composed, probably, in the fourth century,

\* Ερ τοιουν των Γρηγορι, η ο νυν ανιλεγομενος τροπος της δοξολογιας εστι, εκ της εκεινη παραδοσεως τη εκκλησια πεφυλαγμενος. η ε πολυς ο ποτος μικρον κερηδεσθι την επι τυλοις πληροφοριαν λαβειν. ταυτην η Φιρμιλιανω τω ημειρων μαρτυρησι την πισιν οι λογοι υς καλειπιτε. De Spiritu Sancto, cap. 29. Opera, vol. 2. p. 360.

† Και εως λαβων, αιον η δοξαν τω πατρι των ολων, δια τε ονομαος τε υιου, η τε πνευματος τε αγιου, αναπεμπει. Apol. 1 p. 96.

‡ Επι πασι δε οις προσφερομεθα ευλογουμε τον ποιητην των παντων, δια τε υιου αυτου Ιησου Χριστου, η δια πνευματος τε αγιου. Ibid. p. 97.

according



according to what was supposed to have been the practice of the earliest ages, it is said, that "God alone is to be worshipped by Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit\*."

With respect to the argument from the scriptures, Basil contents himself with saying, that "many things were received on the authority of apostolical tradition, and that there was no more reason to reject this than those\*."

As the *personality* of the Spirit was very much questioned, Epiphanius says, that "he assumed the form of a dove, at the baptism of our Saviour, on purpose to show that he had a real person†." It

† Θεον παντοκράτορα ενα μόνον υπαρχειν, παρ ον αλλος κλ εστι· η αυτον μόνον σεβειν η προσκυνειν, δια Ιησν Χριστν τε κυριν ημων, εν τω παναγιω πνευματι. Lib. 6. cap. 14. P. 343.

\* Προς γι μιν το αμαρτυρον η αγραφον ειναι την, συν τω πνευματι, δοξολογiam, εκεινο λεγομεν. οτι ει μιν μηδεν ετερον αγραφον, μηδε τετο παραδεχθητω· ει δε τα πλειστα των μουσικων αγραφως ημιν εμπολιτευεται, μετα πολλων ετερων η τετο καταδεξομεθα. De Sp. S. cap. 23. vol. 2. P. 357.

‡ Δια τελο καιπερ αυτε τε πνευμαλτα αγια σωμα μη φορεσαντος, εν ειδει περιγερας σχημαλζεσθαι, οπως δεξη σν η ελεξη σν την πλανην, ολ ευποταλον εστι το πνευμα καθ εαυτο, η ευποταλος ο πατηρ, η ευποταλος ο μονογενης. Hær. 62. Opera, vol. I. p. 517.

was

was acknowledged, however, by Austin and others, that the Holy Spirit assumed the form of a dove on this occasion, as well as of *fire* on the day of Pentecost, for a time only, and not permanently, as Christ did his body \*. It should seem, therefore, that this could not be a proof of *permanent* personality.

As Athanasius was the great asserter of the divinity of the Spirit, and of his being consubstantial with the Father, the reader will be desirous of seeing some of *his* arguments, and the following are a specimen of them. "The Spirit," he says, "must  
" be consubstantial with the Father and the  
" Son, because, according to Paul, the Spirit of God searches all things, even the  
" deep things of God †." "Their folly is  
" to be wondered at, who, not admitting

\* Non enim sicut filius hominem assumpsit, ut sic in æternum permaneat, sic spiritus sanctus columbam vel ignem : sed factæ sunt illæ visiones de creatura inferiore, ad manifestandum spiritum sanctum quæ esse postea destiterunt. Quest. 65. Opera, vol. 4. p. 679.

† Δειπνῶν λοιπὸν ὁμοσίαν ὁμολογεῖσθαι ὑποστῶν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ. πάντα γὰρ τὰ τε δεῖα καὶ τὰ βαθεῖα ἐπιστάει τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. Disp. Con. Ar. Opera, vol. 1. p. 144.



“ the Son of God to be a creature, in this  
 “ thinking very justly, yet think the Spi-  
 “ rit of the Son to be a creature\*.”—  
 “ This,” says he, “ is admitting a duality,  
 “ not a trinity†.” Basil also calls the  
 Holy Spirit the Spirit of Christ‡.

The capital argument for the divinity  
 of the Spirit is, that the same things are  
 ascribed to him as to God. This is urged  
 by Epiphanius, who says, “ The Holy  
 “ Spirit is God, because he does the same  
 “ things that the Son does. Thus Christ  
 “ is sent by the Father, and the Spirit is  
 “ also sent; Christ speaks in the saints,  
 “ and the Spirit also speaks in them; Christ  
 “ baptizes, and the Spirit baptizes, &c.§”

One standing argument against the divi-  
 nity of the Spirit, and a proof of his being  
 a mere servant of the Father, and even of  
 the Son, is his being said to be *sent* by

\* Τέλιον γὰρ καὶ θαυμαστοῦν ἂν τις τὴν ἀνοίαν, ὅτι τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ θεῶν μὴ  
 θελοῦντες εἶναι κτίσμα, καὶ καλῶς γε τέλο φρονεῖντες, πῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ υἱοῦ  
 κτίσμα καὶ αἰετῶσαι ἠνεσχοῦντο. Epist. Ad Serapion, Opera, vol.  
 i. p. 174. 196.

† Ἡ γὰρ ἑ τριὰς ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ δύο. Ibid. p. 175.

‡ Πνεῦμα καὶ χρίσεν τὸν αἰὼν εἶναι. Hom. 27. Opera, vol. i.  
 p. 523.

§ Hom. 74. Opera, vol. i. p. 523.

them.

them. But to this argument Ambrose says, "The Son is sometimes said to be  
"sent by the Spirit, as, The Spirit of the  
"Lord is upon me, because he has sent  
"me to preach the gospel to the poor, &c.\*"

In John iv. 24. it is said, *God is a spirit*; but Ambrose read it, *the Spirit is God*; and he says, that this text so clearly proves the divinity of the Spirit, that the Arians erase it out of their books†. I do not find, however, that any other writer mentions this circumstance. To advance the dignity of the Spirit, Job, the monk, says, "that the  
"holy scriptures call the whole trinity by  
"his name, in saying, *God is a spirit*‡."

\* Ita et filium Dei spiritus misit. Dicit enim filius Dei, spiritus domini super me, propter quod unxit me prædicare captivis remissionem, et cæcis visum. De Sp. S. lib. 3: Opera, vol. 4. p. 254.

† Quem locum ita expresse Ariani testificamini esse de spiritu, ut eum de vestris codicibus auferatis: atque utinam de vestris, et non etiam de ecclesiæ codicibus tolleretis.— Et fortasse hoc etiam in oriente fecistis. Et literas quidem potuistis abolere; sed fidem non potuistis auferre. De Spiritu Sancto, lib. 3. cap. 11. Opera, vol. 4. p. 271.

‡ Καὶ τὸ αἰῶμα δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ὃς ἡ ἱερά ἐπαύρυστα γραφή, ὅλην τὴν τριάδα τὴν τὸ πνεῦμα ἐξονομαζει φωνῇ, ὡς τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ θεός.  
Phot. Bib. sect. 222. p. 623.



The arguments for the *procession* of the Spirit, either from the Father or the Son, or from both, lie in a small compass. For the whole depends upon his being said to be *sent* by either, or by both of them. Besides this, Austin says, that “our Saviour’s  
“imparting the Holy Spirit by breathing  
“on his apostles, is a proof that the Spirit  
“proceeds from him, as well as from the  
“Father\*.”

It is remarkable, that the doctrine of the divinity of the Spirit was attacked with even more vigour than that of the divinity of Christ; the reason of which was that, besides the unitarians, the Arians joined in this attack; and being very numerous at the time of that controversy, and having sometimes the favour of the emperors, they spoke and wrote with great freedom.

We know less of the history of Macedonius, who was at the head of the opposition

\* Neque enim flatus ille corporeus, cum sensu corporaliter tangendi procedens ex corpore, substantia spiritus sancti fuit, sed demonstratio per congruam significationem, non tantum a patre, sed et a filio procedere spiritum sanctum. De Trinitate, lib. 4. cap. 20. vol. 3. p. 313.

to the doctrine of the divinity of the Spirit, than of that of Arius, or almost any other leader of a sect. He is said not to have denied the personality of the Spirit; for Sozomen says, that “ he held the Spirit to  
 “ be a person, but like one of the angels,  
 “ subservient to the Father and the Son,  
 “ whom he allowed to be consubstantial  
 “ with each other \*.” The same is asserted by Nicephorus †. It appears from Athanasius ‡, that they who held this opinion, were also called *Tropici* §. That Macedonius, and his proper followers, did not deny the divinity of Christ, is evident from what Chrysostom says, with some degree of pleasantry. “ The Arians suffering ship-  
 “ wreck, lost both the glory of Christ, and  
 “ the power of the Holy Spirit: the Ma-

\* Το δε αγιον πνευμα, αμοιρον των αυτων πρεσβειων απεφανειο, διακονον η υπηρετην καλων, η οσα περι των θειων αγγελων λεγων τις, Lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 173.

† Διακονον γαρ αυτο εινα η υπηρετου εισηγμετο, η βραχυ τι τω αγγελικων διαφερον ταγματων. Lib. 9. cap. 47. vol. 1. p. 800.

‡ Οι δε τροπικοι, το πνευμα η αυτοι, τοις κτιστοις συναριθμουν. Epist. Ad Serapion, Opera, vol. 1. p. 192.



“cedonians, striving to escape, lost half  
“the lading\*.”

The great weight of the opposition to the doctrine of the divinity of the Holy Spirit, was in Asia Minor, where it was encountered by Basil, and the two Gregories; but it was so violent that it amounted to a kind of persecution. Nothing gives so much alarm to the people, as a change in the public offices in religion; and Basil seems to have given occasion to the violent outcry against him by singing *glory to the Holy Spirit*, as well as to the Father, and the Son. He speaks of his being persecuted on this account, in his treatise on the Holy Spirit†. He speaks of the doctrine about the Holy Spirit as what interested all people‡. He represents it as a subject of universal discussion, even by women and eunuchs, by whom he was beset, assuming the character of

\* Οι αρειανοι ναυαγισαντες, απωλεσαν, η̅ χρι̅ς̅ δ̅ε̅αν̅ η̅̅ αγι̅ον̅ πνευμα̅τος̅ δυναμιν̅. Μακεδονιαγοι φιλονεικῃσι μεν αναβη̅ναι̅, το̅ δε̅ η̅μι̅-  
συ̅ τε̅ φοβ̅ου̅ απωλεσαν. De Sp. S. Opera, vol. 6. p. 220.

† Cap. 26. Opera, vol. 2. p. 361.

‡ Πασα γαρ̅ α̅κρη̅ νυν̅ προς̅ την̅ ακροασιν̅ των̅ λογων̅ των̅ περι̅ τε̅  
α̅γι̅ου̅ πνευμα̅τος̅ ανη̅ρ̅ε̅δισ̅αι̅. Hom. 27. Opera, vol. 1. p. 522.

judges,

judges, and not of learners\*.” In another place, he complains of persons “teazing” him with questions about the Holy Spirit, “not with any view to information, but that if his answers should not please them, they might have a handle to make war against him †.”

He speaks of the zeal of his opponents in the strongest terms. “They would sooner,” he says, “cut out their tongues than say *Glory to the Holy Spirit*. This is the cause of the most violent, and irreconcilable war with us. They say that glory is to be given to God *in* the Holy Spirit, not *to* the Holy Spirit; and they obstinately adhere to this language concerning the Spirit, as expressing a low opinion of him ‡.” “When I was lately praying before the people, and sometimes

\* Επειδη δε περιεστηκατε ημας, δικασαι μαλλον η μαθηται, ημας δοκιμασαι βαλομενοι, αν αυτοι τι λαβειν επιζητησεις. Hom. 27. Opera, vol. 1. p. 523. 526.

† Αλλ’ οπως εαν μη συμβαινεντας τη εαυτων επιθυμιαται αποκρισεις ευρωσι, ταυτην αφορμην δικαιαν εχειν δοξωσι τε πολεμω. De Sp. S. Opera, vol. 2. p. 292.

‡ Αλλα τας γλωσσας αν προσινω μαλλον η την φωνην ταυτην δεξαιντο. τειλο μεν εν εστιν, ο τον ακηρυκτον ημιν κ’ ασπινδον πολεμον



“ concluding with the doxology to the Fa-  
 “ ther, with the Son and Holy Spirit, and  
 “ sometimes through the Son in the Holy  
 “ Spirit, some who were present said, that  
 “ I used phrases which were not only new,  
 “ but contradictory \*.” He says that “ he  
 “ was accused of novelty, and as an inventor  
 “ of new phrases, and that they spared no  
 “ kind of reproach, because he made the  
 “ Son equal to the Father, and did not se-  
 “ parate the Holy Spirit from the Son †; on  
 “ which account, he says, he applied to  
 “ himself our Saviour’s saying *bleſſed are ye*  
 “ *when men reproach you, &c. ‡*” And speak-

επεχειρει. εν τῷ πνευμαλί, φησι, τῷ αγιῷ τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀποδίδειν τῷ  
 θεῷ, ἔχει δὲ καὶ τῷ πνευμαλί, καὶ ἐκδυμολογία τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης ὡς ταπει-  
 νῆς, τὸ πνεῦμα ὡς περιεχόντιαι. De Sp.S. vol. 2. cap. 25. p. 347.

\* Προσευχόμενω μοι πρῶτον μέλα τὰ λαὸν, καὶ ἀμφοτέρως τὴν δοξολο-  
 γίαν ἀποπληρῶμι τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, νῦν μὲν μέλα τὰ υἱὸν σὺν τῷ πνευμαλί  
 τῷ αγιῷ, νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰ υἱὸν ἐν αγιῷ πνευμαλί, ἐπεσκήψαν τινες, τῶν  
 παρόντων, ξενίζουσαις ἡμῶς φωναῖς πεχρησθαι λεγούσας, καὶ ἀμὰ πρὸς  
 ἀλλήλας ὑπερανθίως ἐχουσαις. Ibid. p. 293.

† Οἱ μέλα παῖρος ἀποπληρῶμεν τῷ μονογενεὶ τὴν δοξολογίαν, καὶ  
 τῷ αγιῷ πνεύματι μὴ δις ὧμεν ἀπὸ τὰ υἱὸν. ὁ δὲν νεώτεροποιὺς ἡμῶν καὶ  
 καυνολόμος καὶ εφευρέας ρημάτων, καὶ τί γὰρ ἔχει τῶν ἐκπονεῖδων ἀπάντα-  
 ρυσιν. Ibid. cap. 6. p. 301. 304.

‡ Ὡς τοσούτων ἀπεχῶ δυσχεραίνειν ταῖς λαϊδορμαῖς, ὥστε εἰ μὴ λυπητὴ  
 ἡμῖν ἐνεπαίει καὶ ἀδιαλείπτου ὁδὸν ἡ κατ’ αὐτῆς ζήμια, μῆκερ ἂν εἰπὼν  
 καὶ χάριν,

ing of his own resolution, he says, “we must obey God rather than man\*.” These circumstances clearly show that the great mass of the people exceedingly disliked the doctrine for which Basil contended. The same state of things appears also from the writings of Gregory Nazianzen, who says, “the heretics say, whoever worshipped the Spirit, either of the ancients or moderns†.”

If what Jerom and others say‡, be true, that “Donatus agreed with the Arians, with respect to the Holy Spirit,” it will be an argument of some weight in favour

καὶ χάριν αὐτοῖς τῆς βλασφημίας εἶναι, ὡς μακαρισμὸς προξενεῖς. μακαριοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ, φησὶν, ὅταν ονειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς [καὶ διώξωσι καὶ ἐπιώσι πᾶν πονηρὸν ῥῆμα κατὰ ἡμῶν ψευδομένοι] ἐνεκὲν ἐμοῦ. — Ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ πολεμικοῦ τέλει κατὰ ἡμῶν συγκληκτικαὶ τιφός· πᾶσαι δὲ πόλεις, καὶ κωμαὶ καὶ ἐσχατιαί, πᾶσαι πληρεῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων διαβολῶν. Cap. 26. Opera, vol. 2. p. 361.

\* Πρὸς ἡς δίκαιον τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων φωνὴν ἀποκρινάσθαι, ὅτι πειθαρχεῖν θεῷ δεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις. Ibid. p. 313.

† Ἀλλὰ τίς προσέμνησε τῷ πνεύματι, φησὶ· τίς ἦν τῶν παλαιῶν, ἢ τῶν νέων. Or. 37. Opera, p. 599.

‡ Extant ejus multa, ad suam hæresim pertinentia, et de spiritu sancto liber, Ariano dogmati congruens. Catalogus scriptorum, Opera, vol. 1. p. 311.

of



of the novelty of the orthodox opinion. For the Donatists were not distinguished from other christians, with respect to the divinity of Christ.

One kind of argument used by the Macedonians, seems to have gravelled the orthodox exceedingly; as it affected the distinction between the Son and Spirit, which it has been seen they could never clearly make out; I shall recite the objection as it is stated by Athanasius, Basil, and Didymus of Alexandria; and it is of a nature to relieve the dryness of these discussions.

“ If the Spirit is not a creature, nor yet  
 “ one of the angels, but proceeds from the  
 “ Father, is he not also a son; so that he  
 “ and the logos are brothers; and if he be  
 “ a brother, how is the logos the only be-  
 “ gotten son; and why are they not equal?  
 “ But the Son is said to be begotten after  
 “ the Father, and the Spirit is after the  
 “ Son. If he be from the Father, why is  
 “ he not said to be begotten, so that he  
 “ is a Son, and not simply a Holy Spirit.  
 “ But

“But if the Spirit is from the Son, is not  
“the Father the grandfather of the Holy  
“Spirit\*.”

“The Holy Spirit, if he be God,” as  
the objection is stated by Basil, “must  
“either be begotten, or unbegotten. If he  
“be unbegotten, he is the Father; if be-  
“gotten, the Son; and if he is neither  
“begotten nor unbegotten, he is a crea-  
“ture†.” “If the Holy Spirit is not  
“created,” as the objection is stated by  
Didymus, “he is either the brother of  
“God the Father, and the uncle of Jesus  
“Christ, or else he is the Son of Christ,  
“and the grandson of God the Father; or  
“he himself is the son of God, and then

\* Εἰ μὴ κλισμα ἐστὶ, μὴδὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆ πατρὸς  
ἐκπορεύεται, ὡς υἱὸς ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸς. καὶ δύο ἀδελφοὶ εἰσὶν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ  
λόγος. καὶ εἰ ἀδελφὸς ἐστὶ, πῶς μονογενὴς ὁ λόγος, ἢ πῶς ἐκ ἰσού, ἀλλ’ ὁ  
μὴν, μετὰ τὸν πατέρα γεγενῆσθαι τοῦδε, μετὰ τὸν υἱὸν οὐνομαζέσθαι. πῶς  
δὲ εἰ ἐκ τῆ πατρὸς ἐστίν, καὶ λεγέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸ γεγενῆσθαι. ἢ ὅτι υἱὸς ἐστίν  
ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς πνεῦμα ἅγιον. εἰ δὲ τὸ υἱὸς ἐστὶ πνεῦμα, ὡς παπῶς ἐστίν  
ὁ πατὴρ τῆ πνευματικῆς. Epist. Ad. Serapion, Opera, vol. i.  
p. 189.

† Ἀγεννητὸν ἐστὶν ἢ γεννητὸν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀγεννητὸν, πατὴρ. εἰ δὲ γε-  
νητὸν, υἱός. εἰ δὲ μὴδ’ εἰς τῶν τριῶν, κλισμα. Hom. 27. Opera,  
vol. i. p. 524.

“Jesus



"Jesus Christ will not be the only begotten Son. These," he says, "were usual topics of argument \*." As no satisfactory answers could ever be given by the orthodox to these questions, which are calculated to set their doctrine in a very ridiculous point of light, it is no wonder that so long a space of time, aided by the authority of councils and emperors was necessary to establish it.

One argument to prove that the Holy Spirit is a creature, was drawn from John i. 3. where it is said that *every thing was made by the logos, and without him nothing was made.* But to this Epiphanius answers, that the true reading was *without him nothing was made that was made by him*†. But

\* Idcirco illud quod solent tractare prætereo, sacrilega adversus nos audacia proclamantes. Si spiritus sanctus creatus non est, aut frater est Dei patris, aut patruus est unigeniti Jesu Christi: aut filius Christi est, aut nepos est Dei patris: aut ipse filius Dei est, et jam non erit unigenitus Jesus Christus, cum alterum fratrem habeat. De Sp. S. in Jerom's works, vol. 6. p. 234.

† Νομίζουσι δὲ παραγινώσκοντες, καὶ μὴ νοοῦντες διαφθελεῖν τὴν ἀναγνώσιν τινες ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγενέσθαι, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγενέσθαι μὲν. εὖς ὡς ἀπολύειν τὸ ἔηλον, ὑπονοῶν βλασφημίας εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα  
μα

this, besides suggesting no meaning at all, appears to have no authority besides his own.

In this controversy great stress was laid on the force of some Greek particles; as appears from Basil, "As it is said, 1 Cor. viii. 6. there is one God, the Father, of whom (ἐξ ἧς) are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom (δι' ἧς) are all things, and one Holy Spirit, in whom (ἐν ᾧ) are all things, they (i. e. the heterodox) say that the δι' ἧς, and ἐν ᾧ, are proofs of a different nature; and therefore, that the Son was ἀνομοιος (unlike) to the Father\*."

Considering the violence with which this controversy was conducted, it shews great moderation in Gregory Nazianzen, to ex-

μα το ἅγιον λαβόντες, σφαλலόναι περὶ τὴν ἀναγνώσιν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶ σφαλματος τῆς ἀναγνώσεως σκαλίσσιν εἰς βλασφημίαν τρεπομένοι. ἡ δὲ ἀναγνώσις ὥτως ἔχει· πάντα δι' αὐτῆς ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο οὐδὲν, οὗ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ· τῆς γὰρ οὐκ εἰ τι γέγονε, δι' αὐτῆς ἐγένετο. An-  
coratus, sect. 75. Opera, vol. 2. p. 80.

\* Εἰς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ ἐξ ἧς τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς κυρίως Ἰησοῦς χριστός, δι' ἧς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα.—Ανομοίων δὲ τῷ ἐξ ἧς το δι' ἧς, ἀνομοίος ἀρὰ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ὁ υἱός. De Sp. S. Op. vol. 2. p. 294.

press



press himself so favourably concerning the Macedonians. For he says, “ We admire  
 “ their lives, but do not approve their  
 “ faith\*.” It is evident, that Basil thought  
 proper to yield, in some measure, to the  
 times, and the circumstances in which he  
 found himself. That he might not ex-  
 clude too great a number from commu-  
 nion, he advised that, without entering into  
 nice distinctions, all those should be ad-  
 mitted who did not say that the Holy  
 Spirit was a creature†.

\* *Ὁν τιν βιον θανμαζοντες, εκ επαυμεν παντη τον λογον.*  
*Or. 44. Opera, p. 710.*

† *Επει εν πολλα σοματα ηνοικλει κατὰ τε πνευματος τε  
 αγιου, κ̅ πολλαι γλωσσαι ηκονησαι εις την κατὰ αυτην βλασ-  
 φημιαν, αξιμεν, υμας οσον εστιν ερ̅ ημιν εις ολιγον αριθμον  
 περιιησαι τις βλασφημοντας, κ̅ τ̅ς μη λεγοντας κτισμα  
 το πνευμα το αγιον δεχεσθαι εις κοινωνιαν.* *Ep. 203.*  
*Opera, vol. 3. p. 223.*

## CHAPTER X.

*Of the Doctrine of the Trinity after the Council of Nice.*

AFTER the council of Nice, we find a very different kind of orthodoxy from that which prevailed before. It was a maxim with the Antenicene writers, that the Son was inferior to the Father. They even expressed themselves, as has been seen, in the strongest manner upon this subject, and were solicitous so to do in order to remove the odium under which it is evident that the new doctrine of the *divinity of Christ* then lay. But as the christian world, and especially both the philosophical and the governing part of it, began to relish this doctrine (being one of which they were less ashamed, than of being the disciples of *a mere man*) the Platonic doctrine of Christ being the *logos of the Father* was pursued to its just extent; and, accordingly, the Son was then pronounced to be



be of *the same substance with the Father*, and therefore *equal* to him in all respects.

At this, though nothing more than the natural consequence of the doctrine of Christ being the logos of the Father, many revolted; and this circumstance, among others, contributed, no doubt, to the schism of the Arians; who, firmly retaining the former doctrine of the inferiority of the Son to the Father, and yet seeing the impossibility of holding this with that of his being the proper logos of the Father, maintained that he was a *created logos*, or simply a super-angelic spirit, *created* (as was then the opinion) *out of nothing*, but still the maker of the world under God, as had been asserted of the former logos.

The alarm given by the new doctrine of the *perfect equality of the Son to the Father* was the greater, as, in the Sabellian controversy, it had been incautiously asserted, not only that Christ was inferior to the Father, but even of a *different substance* from him. For, as the learned unitarians had talked of the divinity in the Father and that in the Son being *the very same*, their  
opponents

opponents had maintained, that it was quite different; and this language had been uniformly held till the rise of the Arian controversy; so that those bishops who deposed Paul of Samosata, and those who were assembled at Nice, held, in fact, quite opposite doctrines; the one saying, that the Son was not *consubstantial* with the Father, and the other, that he was so. But at those different times they had different objects, and attended less to the propriety of their language, than to contradict their opponents.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of the new doctrine, we perceive several remains of the old, viz. that of the Father being the sole fountain of deity, which necessarily implied some kind of inferiority in the Son, both at the time of the Council of Nice, and afterwards. Indeed, that great principle (which strongly militates against the doctrine of the equality of the Son) was never properly given up at any period; and in words it is, I believe, in general, maintained by those who are called orthodox in the present age. "There is one God," says



Athanasius, "because there is one Father\*." Basil also says, "there are not two Gods, "because not two Fathers†." And Cyril of Alexandria acknowledges, that "when "the scriptures speak of one God, that name "is to be applied to the Father only, with "whom the word was ‡." But Pope Damasus, in the fourth century, anathematized those who said that the Father, exclusive of the Son and Spirit, was the one God §.

\* Εἰς Θεὸς ὁ καὶ πατήρ εἰς. *Contra Sabell. Opera*, vol. 1. p. 655, 656.

† Οὐ δύο θεοί, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύο πατέρες. *Hom. 27. Opera*, vol. 1. p. 521.

‡ Quare quum unum Deum prædicare scripturam inveniamus, patri solum modo id nomen vere attribuiamus, apud quem erat verbum. In *John*, cap. 3. *Opera*, vol. 1. p. 603.

§ Ἡ πάλιν ὑπεξέλομενος τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὡς μόνον ὑπονοῦσαι τὸν πατέρα θεὸν λεγέσθαι, ἢ μη πιστεύειν εἶναι θεόν, ἀναθεμα εἶμι. *Theodoriti, Hist. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 211.*

SECTION I.

*The Doctrine of the perfect Equality of all the Persons in the Trinity.*

TO show how far the sentiments and language of the orthodox Fathers changed after the council of Nice, I shall produce passages from the most celebrated of them, in which they express their opinion with respect to the *perfect equality* of the Son to the Father, or that of all the three persons to each other.

Whereas it had been the universal language, from which no person thought himself at liberty to depart, to say that the Father was *the one true God*, it was now the custom to say, that the Trinity was the one God. This is the constant language of Austin. Speaking of the immensity of the divine nature, he says, “so is the Father, “so is the Son, so is the Holy Spirit, so is “the Trinity, one God\*.” Accordingly,

\* Ita pater, ita filius, ita spiritus sanctus, ita trinitas unus deus. Epist. 37. Opera, vol.2. p. 274.



in explaining the saying of our Saviour, *there is none good but one, that is God*, he says, "It is not said, that there is none good but the *Father*, but there is none good but *God*. By the term *Father* is meant the *Father*, but by the term *God* is meant the *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit*; for the *Trinity is the one God* \*." The *Trinity* is the one only God, good, great, eternal, omnipotent, who is to himself unity, deity, magnitude, goodness, omnipotence †. Leo the Great says, "the whole *Trinity* together is one God ‡." This doctrine is also asserted in the large creed ascribed, but very unjustly, to Gregory Thaumaturgus. Opera, p. 19.

\* Non ait nemo bonus nisi solus pater, sed nemo bonus nisi solus deus, in patris enim nomine, ipse per se pater, pronuntiatur, in Dei vero et ipse, et filius, et spiritus sanctus, quia trinitas unus Deus. De Trinitate, lib. 5. cap. 8. Opera, vol. 3. p. 320.

† Et hæc trinitas unus Deus, Deus solus, bonus, magnus, æternus, omnipotens; ipse sibi unitas, deitas, magnitudo, bonitas, omnipotentia. De Trinitate, lib. 5. sect. 5. cap. 11. Opera, vol. 3. p. 322.

‡ Tota simul trinitas est unus Deus. Ser. 75. Opera p. 160.

Also,

Also, whereas the Son had formerly been said to be inferior to the Father in his highest, or divine nature, as having been derived from him, the language now was, that, with respect to his divine nature, he was perfectly equal to the Father, and inferior only with respect to his human nature; and this is the language that continues to be held to this day. “The Father,” says a writer whose work has been ascribed to Athanasius, “is said in the scriptures to be greater than the Son; but it is neither in magnitude, in time, nor in nature; but as the father of a son made man; and on account of his being made man, he is less than the angels\*.” “Whatever mean things,” says Athanasius himself, “are said of Christ, they respect that state of poverty which he assumed, that we might be made rich, and must not give occasion to blaspheme the son of God†.” “The Father,” says Am-

\* Μειζων ο πατηρ τε υιου γεγραπται, ουτε δε οσιν, ουτε χρονω, ουτε φυσει, αλλ’ ως πατηρ υιου ενανθρωπησατος. δια δε την ενανθρωπησιν η των αγγελων πλατυσθαι αυτον λεγει ο αποστολος. De Trinitate, Dial. 2. Opera, vol. 2. p. 188.

† Οσα εν ευσηλη ρηματι υπο τε κυριου ειρηται, τη πτωχεια αυτου διαφερει, ινα ημεις εν αυτοις πλουτησωμεν, υχ ινα ημεις



brose, "gave the revelation to Christ as a  
 "man." He adds, that "the Son likewise  
 "gave it to himself, viz. his divinity to his  
 "humanity\*." "The Father," says Theo-  
 phylact, "is the God of Christ, according  
 "to his humanity, and his Father accord-  
 "ing to his divinity†."

This new doctrine furnished the ortho-  
 dox with a short and easy answer to every  
 objection that could be made to the divi-  
 nity of Christ, from his being represented  
 as a mere man in the scriptures. "All the  
 "low phrases," says Theodoret, "we ap-  
 "ply to Christ as a man, and the lofty ones  
 "as God; and this demonstration of the  
 "truth is very convenient to us‡."

εν αυτοις βλασφημωμεν κατα το υιο το θς. *De Humana  
 Natura, Opera, vol. 1. p. 599.*

\* Apocalypsis, revelatio vel manifestatio interpretatur.  
 Quod revelationis donum et pater filio dedit, secundum  
 quod homo erat, et filius sibi ipse, divinitas scilicet ho-  
 mini quem assumpsit. In Apoc. cap. 1. *Opera, vol. 5.  
 p. 365.*

† Θεος μεν γαρ το χριου, κατα το ανθρωπινον πατηρ δε  
 κατα την θεοτητα. In Rom. cap. 15. *Opera, vol. 2. p. 144.*

‡ Νυν γαρ τους μεν ταπεινους των λογων ως ανθρωπων  
 προσαπομεν, τους δε υψηλους και θεοπρεπεις ως θεο, και  
 ευπρεπεις αγαν ημιν ειν η της αληθειας αποδειξει. *Epist. 31,  
 Opera, vol. 3. p. 916.*

language

language is frequent with Chrysostom. But the convenience which these writers so much boast of was unknown to their ancestors in orthodoxy, who always supposed, as truth and common sense requires, that whenever Christ is spoken of, his whole nature, and not a part of it only, was intended. On this principle Irenæus argued with the Gnostics.

When the doctrine of Christ being the creator of the world was first advanced, he was represented as having created all things by the order of the Father. But now this was not thought to be sufficient. Idacius, writing against Varimadus, the Arian, does not admit that the Son made the world by the Father's order, but says, that he did it "by his own power and will, and that he "governs them by his providence;" proving this from Isaiah, *Thus saith the Lord, I have made the earth by my word, and created man upon it* \*.

\* Si tibi dixerint: quia filius jussione patris fecit, quæ facta sunt. Resp. Non ut ipse adstruis filium jussione patris fecisse, quæ facta sunt, sed sui imperio et voluntate universa creavit, quæ creanda fore providentia sua perspexit,



Also, whereas it had been said that the Son was the *servant* of the Father, and ministered to him, it was now observed that this service was reciprocal. “The Father,” says Cyril of Alexandria, “ministers to the Son, as the Psalmist says, ‘Sit thou at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool †.’”

On this idea of the perfect equality of the Son to the Father, Chrysostom observes, that “sometimes the name of Christ is ‘placed before that of the Father ‡.’”

It had been thought to be peculiar to the Father to be *invisible*; but Cerealis says,

spexit, Esaia propheta dicente: hæc dicit dominus: ego feci sermone meo terram, et hominem super eam, ego solidavi cælum manu, ego omnibus syderibus mandavi, ut luceant in cælo. Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 380.

† Pater vero ministrat filio, ut canit Psalmista: sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum. Si ergo pater, quamvis ministret filio, minor tamen ipso propterea non est: nec filius quia patri subjicitur, minor patre putandus est. Thesaurus, cap. 8. Opera, vol. 2. p. 304.

\* Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀδελφεὸς ὁ υἱὸς διὰ τὸ μὴ πατέρα κτεῖναι, ἐπειδὴ ἀλλοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀρξάμενος ὁ ἀποστόλος ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐρχεται, τὴν αἰχμήν. In Gal. 1. Opera, vol. 10. p. 964.

“ the

“ the Son is invifible, because none can  
“ know him but the Father \*.”

The principles of the later and more rigid doctrine of the trinity are moft clearly expreffed in what is called *the Athanafian creed*, whoever was the author of it. We are there told, “ there is one hypoftafis of  
“ the Father, another of the Son, and an-  
“ other of the Holy Spirit; but there is  
“ one deity of the Father, Son, and Spirit,  
“ their glory equal, their majesty co-eternal,  
“ Such as the Father is, fuch is the Son,  
“ and fuch the Holy Spirit †.” The im- portance of holding this abfurd faith was deemed to be fo great, that the fame creed, having pronounced this to be *the catholic faith*, denounces, that “ if any perfon does  
“ not hold it wholly and undefiled, he muft,

\* Quia invifibilis eft filius fic docetur. Nemo novit filium nifi pater, neque patrem quis novit nifi filius. Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 451.

† Αλλη γαρ ειν η τε πατρος υποτασις. αλλη τε υιου, κ̅ αλλη τε αγιου πνευματος. αλλα πατρος κ̅ υιου κ̅ αγιου πνευματος, μια ειν θεοτης, ιση δοξα, συνδιακονιζουσα η μεγαλειότης. υιος ο πατηρ, τοις υιος κ̅ ο υιος, τοις υιος κ̅ το πνευμα τυ αγιου.—Αυτη ειν η καθολικη π̅ις, ην ει μη τις π̅ως τε και βεβαιως π̅ις, σωθηναι ε δυνασται, Athanasii, Opera, vol. 2, p. 32.

“ without



“without doubt, perish everlastingly\*.”

The stile of this Athanasian creed occurs in Austin on the trinity, where he says, that “each of the three persons is God, “yet there are not three Gods. Each of “them is great and good, and yet there “are not three that are great or good, but “only one †.”

I shall now proceed with my extracts from the orthodox Fathers, in which their agreement with the principles of this creed, and their disagreement with those of the Antenicene Fathers, will be still more apparent.

\* *Ἡν εἰ μὴ τις υἱὴν ἢ ἀγαπῶν τηροῦσιν; πάσης ἀμφιβολίας ἐκτός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπολείται.* Athanasii, Opera, vol. 2. p. 32.

† Ut quicquid de singulis ad seipso dicit, non pluraliter in summa sed singulariter accipiatur. Quemadmodum enim pater Deus est, et filius Deus est, et spiritus sanctus Deus est, quod secundum substantiam dici nemo dubitat, non tamen tres Deos, sed unum Deum dicimus eandem ipsam præstantissimam trinitatem: ita magnus pater, magnus filius, magnus spiritus sanctus, non tamen tres magni, sed unus magnus. Non enim de patre solo, sicut illi perversi sentiunt, sed de patre et filio et spiritu sancto scriptum est, tu es Deus solus magnus; et bonus pater, bonus filius, bonus spiritus sanctus, nec tres boni, sed unus est bonus, de quo dictum est: nemo bonus nisi solus Deus, Lib. 5. cap. 8. Opera, vol. 3. p. 320.

“The

“The trinity,” says Austin, “is of one  
 “and the same nature and substance, not  
 “less in each than in all, nor greater in all  
 “than in each; as great in the Father only,  
 “or in the Son only, as in the Father and  
 “the Son together; and as great in the  
 “Holy Spirit alone, as in the Father, Son,  
 “and Holy Spirit. Nor did the Father  
 “demean himself that he might generate  
 “a Son out of himself; but he so gene-  
 “rated another self out of himself, that he  
 “remained wholly in himself, and was in  
 “the Son as much as when he was alone\*.”

“The Son,” says Basil, “is all that the  
 “Father is†.” “There is,” says Gre-  
 gory Nyssen, “a whole Father in a whole

\* Hæc trinitas unus est ejusdemque naturæ atque sub-  
 stantiæ, non minor in singulis, quam in omnibus: nec  
 major in omnibus, quam in singulis, sed tanta in solo pa-  
 tre vel in solo filio, quanta in patre simul et filio, et tanta  
 in solo spiritu sancto, quanta simul in patre et filio et spi-  
 ritu sancto. Neque enim pater ut haberet filium de se-  
 ipso, minuit seipsum, sed ita genuit de se alterum se, ut  
 totus maneret in se, et esset in filio tantus quantus et solus,  
 Epist. 66. Opera, vol. 2. p. 319.

† Παντα, ὡς πατήρ ἐστιν ὁ υἱός. De Fide, Opera, vol. 1,  
 p. 430.

“Son,



“Son, and a whole Son in a whole Father\*.” This writer expresses his idea of the importance of this mysterious doctrine in the following manner: “If the confession of the holy trinity be useless, all the institutions of the church are absurd, baptism, confession of sin, obedience to the commands, good morals, temperance, justice, moderation, fortitude †.”

“Whoever,” says Gregory Nazianzen, “maintains any of the three persons to be inferior to the other, overturns the whole trinity ‡.” Jerom says, that “since Christ is the power of God, and the wisdom of God, he has all the Fa-

\* Εἰ δὲ ὅλος ὁ πατήρ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ υἱῷ, ἢ ὅλος ὁ υἱὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πατρὶ. Opera, vol. 2. p. 901.

† Εἰ γὰρ ἀχρηστὸς μὲν ἡ τῶν σημῶν τε ἢ τιμῶν τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος ἐνόμαζον ὁμολογία, ἀνοήτως δὲ τὰ εἰδη ἐκκλησιαστικῆς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰδεσὶ τῶν εἰν ἡ σφραγὶς, ἡ προσευχὴ, τὸ βαπτισμα, ἡ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐξαγορευσις, ἡ περὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς προθυμία, ἡ περὶ τὸ ἦθος καλοῦθωσις, τὸ καλὰ ζωφροσύνην βίον, τὸ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον βλέπειν, τὸ μὴ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐδιζέσθαι, μὴτε ἡδονῆς ἠτλασθαι, μὴτε ἀρετῆς ἀπολειπεσθαι. Contra Eunomium, Or. 10. Opera, vol. 2. p. 277.

‡ Καὶ ὁ, τί ἂν τῶν τριῶν καλῶ δοκῇ, τὸ πᾶν καὶ καταρεῖν νομίζομεν. Or. 20, Opera, p. 338.

“ther’s perfections\*.” Chrysostom gives the preference to the Father only in name. “I name the Father first,” says he, “not “on account of his rank, but because he is “the Father of the only begotten;” and at the same time, he says, that “there is no- “thing improper in naming the Son be- “fore the Father†.” “There is no dif- “ference,” says Theodoret, “between the “Father and the Son, but in generating “and being generated, in emitting and “proceeding‡.” “If any one,” says Pope Damasus, “does not say that the Father, “Son, and Spirit, have one godhead, power, “dominion, glory, and authority, one king-

\* Cum enim Christus Dei virtus sit, deque sapientia, omnes in se virtutes continet patris. In Esaiam, lib. 12. Opera, vol. 4. p. 140.

† Λέγω πατέρα πρώτον, & τη τάξει πρώτον, αλλα τη εννοια, επειδη γεννητωρ τε μονογενης, επειδη η ριζα τε αγιος καρπη. Αρα ει τις ελο- μνησεν ειπειν εν επαληθεια, ο χριτος υμας ευλογησει, και ο πατηρ αυτης, &χ ως αλλοις ενομιζετο; Ser. 4. Opera, vol. 6. p. 34.

‡ Α. Ουκ εστιν & διαφορα πατρος, & υιου, & αγιου πνευματος. Ο. Ες τη φυσει & εν τω θεληματι & εν τω γεννηεν και γεννησθαι, και εκ- τεμπειν και εκπορευεσθαι, ναι, Dial. Adv. Anomæos. Op. vol. 5. p. 275.

“ dom,



“dom, one will, and one truth, let him be  
“anathema\*.”

“The Son,” says Ambrose, “knows the  
“will of the Father, and the Father that of  
“the Son; and the Son hears the Father al-  
“ways, and the Father the Son, by an union  
“of nature, will, and substance †.” “The  
“Father,” says M. Caleca, “is a whole  
“God, the Son a whole God, and the  
“Spirit a whole God ‡.” According to this  
language, it would certainly have been  
most natural to say, that there were *three*  
*Gods*; and this, indeed, is sometimes tacitly  
acknowledged; but the scriptures hav-  
ing expressly asserted the contrary, these

\* Εἰ τις μὴ εἴπῃ τὸ πατήρ, καὶ τὸ υἱός, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, μιαν θεότητα, ἐξουσίαν, δυναστείαν μίαν, δόξαν, κυριότητα μίαν, βασιλείαν μίαν, δέξασθαι, ἀληθεῖαν, ἀναθήμα ἐστί. Theodoriti, Hist. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 211.

† Scit autem semper filius voluntatem patris, et pater filii, et audit patrem filius semper, et pater filium per unitatem naturæ, voluntatis atque substantiæ. Hex. lib. 2. Opera, vol. 1. p. 22.

‡ Καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ θεὸς ὅλος, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς θεὸς ὅλος, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον θεὸς ὅλος. Combefis *Auſtuarium*, vol. 2. p. 203.

writers could not do it *in words*. "To say  
"that there are more Gods than one," says  
Hilary, "is irreligious\*."

## SECTION II.

*Of the new Language introduced at and after  
the Council of Nice.*

NEW ideas always require new terms;  
and unfortunately the nice distinctions  
which were now made with respect to the  
doctrine of the trinity, required more words  
than had ever been used by theologians be-  
fore; nor was there any thing in the Greek  
philosophy to correspond to the distinctions  
that were now to be expressed. Besides, the  
Latin tongue was much less copious than  
the Greek; and this afforded a new source  
of embarrassment and contradiction among  
those who wished to say the same thing.

To express the difference between the  
three persons, it was necessary to have one

\* Quia et Deos dici irreligiosum est. Lib. II. p. 271.



term which might be applied to them all, and another to each of them separately. For though they were *one* in a certain respect, that is, as God, they must be called *three* in another (i. e.) as persons in the godhead. The two terms that were candidates for this latter office in the Greek language were *ουσια* and *υποστασις*, *essence* and *hypostasis*; and though it was acknowledged, that in the Greek philosophy these words had been used without any difference, it was thought necessary to make a distinction between them now.—Theodoret, after observing that, “in the  
 “external philosophy there was no differ-  
 “ence between essence and hypostasis, with  
 “the Fathers they differed as *common* and  
 “*particular*, or as *genus* and *species*, or *indi-*  
 “*vidual* \*.” Socrates says, that “the word  
 “*hypostasis* was not used by the ancient phi-  
 “losophers, but that by the moderns it was  
 “always used for *essence* †.”

\* Καὶ δὲ γὰρ τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν διδασκαλίαν τὴν εἶναι διαφορὰν τοῦ κοινοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου, ἢ τοῦ γένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἶδος, ἢ τοῦ αἰτομον, ταύτην οὐσία πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν εἶναι. Dial. i. Opera. vol. 4. p. 4.

† Ἰστοῦν μέντοι οὐκ εἶναι οἱ παλαιοὶ φιλοσοφοὶ τὴν λέξιν παρελκόντων, ἀλλὰ ὁμᾶς οἱ νεώτεροι τὰν φιλοσοφίαν συνεχῶς αὐτὴ τῆς οὐσίας, τὴν λέγει τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἀπεχρησμένοι. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 180.

Before the Arian controversy it had, as I have observed, been uniformly said by the orthodox, that the Father and the Son were different in their essence. Origen expressly says this, as well as that the Son was subject to the Father\*. Also Athanasius, in his fifth oration against the Arians, maintains, that *essence* and *hypostasis* mean the same thing. The author of a treatise ascribed to him says, “whoever asserts that there are three hypostasis, that is, three substances, he, under the name of piety, asserts three natures†;” and this, according to the orthodox, constituted the polytheism of the Arians. “Accordingly, it was agreed,” says Sozomen, “in a council held at Alexandria, which Athanasius attended, that the word *essence* should be avoided, except in disputing with the Sabellians‡.” It was also maintained in the

\* Εἰ γὰρ ἕτερος, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις δεικνύται, καὶ υἱὸν, καὶ ὑποκειμενὸς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς. De Oratione, p. 48.

† Quisquis autem tres υποστάσεις dicit, id est, tres substantias, is sub nomine pietatis tres naturas conatur asserere. Opera, vol. 2. p. 581.

‡ Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πολλῶν πόλεων ἐπισκοποὶ συνελθούσες εἰς Ἀλεξανδρίαν καὶ Ἀθανάσιον καὶ Εὐσεβίον, τὰ δεδογμένα ἐν Νίκαια κραίνουσιν ὁμολοσίαν.



council of Sardica, at which Athanasius was present, that "there is one essence of the Father, Son, and Spirit, which essence the heretics call *hypostasis* \*."

It was with respect to this difference about *essence* and *hypostasis*, that Gregory Nazianzen says, "it was ridiculous, though lamentable, that so a small difference in words should occasion a difference in faith;" and that "Athanasius perceiving it was a difference in words only, having addressed both parties with gentleness and good nature, and after carefully examining the meaning of the words, when he found that the two parties did not differ in sense, gave them liberty with respect to words, but held them strictly

τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ὡμολογήσαν καὶ τριάδα ὡνομάσαν· καὶ μόνῳ τε σωματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῇ τελείῳ χρηναὶ δοξάζειν ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃν ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἀνελάβεν, εἰσηγήσαντο, καὶ αὐτοῖς παλαιῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐδόκει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ περὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ ὑποστάσεως ζήτησις τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐλάττει, καὶ συχνὰ περὶ τῶν ἐρίδων καὶ διαλέξεων ἦσαν, εὐ μάλα σοφῶς μοι δοκῶσιν οἰσθαι, μὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ θεοῖς τοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασι, πλὴν ἡλικίᾳ τὴν Σαβελλίου δοξάν ἐκβάλλειν πειρωθῶ. Lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 198.

\* Ἡμεῖς δὲ ταυτὴν παρείληφαμεν καὶ δεδιδάμεθα, καὶ ταυτὴν ἐχομεν τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποτολικὴν παράδοσιν καὶ πιστὴν καὶ ὁμολογίαν, μὴδὲ εἶναι ὑποστάσιν

“bound with respect to the things signified  
“by them\*.”

The Latins having no terms to express both *essence* and *hypostasis*, as is observed by Gregory Nazianzen †, used the word *sub-*  
*stance* to express both; and, accordingly, they were much chagrined at the Greeks for making any difference between them. Je-  
rom expresses his resentment on this subject, saying, that, “in the secular schools they  
“had no difference; and who,” says he,  
“will dare to say there are three substances.  
“Let it suffice us to say there is one sub-  
“stance, and three subsisting persons, per-

υποσταν ην αιλοι-οι αιρετικοι εστιαν προσαγορευουσι, τε πατρος και τε  
υιου και αγιου πνευματος. Theodoriti, Hist. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 81.

\* Ως λαν γελοιον η ελεεινον π. γεως εδοξε διαφορα η περι τον ηχον  
μικρολογια—Ταυτ εν οφειν και ακων ο μακαριος εκεινθ προσκαλεσα-  
μενθ αμφοτερα τα μερη ελωσι παως και φιλανθρωπως, και τον νυν  
των λεγομενων ακριβως εξελισσας, επειδη συμφρονετιας ευρε, και ουδεν διε-  
ωις καλα τον λογον, τα ονοματια συγχωρησας, συνδει τοις πραγμασι.  
Or. 22. p. 395, 396.

† Της γαρ μιας ουσιας, και των τριων υποστανσεων λεγομενων μεν υφ’  
ημων ευσεβως το μεν γαρ την φυσιν δηλοι της θεοτητος, το δε τας των τριων  
ιδιοτητας, νοημενων δε και παρα τοις Ιταλοις ομοιως, αλλ’ ε δυναμεναις δια-  
γενολητα της παρ’ αιλοις γλωττης και ονοματων πενιαν, διελεν απο της  
ουσιας την υποσταν, και δια τουτο αιλεισαγωγης τα προσωπα ινα μη  
τρεις εστιν παραδειχθωσι. Or. 21. p. 395.



fectly equal, and co-eternal. Let us say nothing of *three hypostases*, but keep to *one* \*. Austin also thought that no difference should be made between essence and hypostasis, and said, that in Latin they said indifferently, that there was one essence, or substance, and three persons †. This is likewise asserted by G. Nazianzen in the passage quoted above.

Notwithstanding the dislike that was taken to the word *essence*, it was thought necessary to make use of it at the council of Nice, in order to censure the Arians, who held that the Son was created out of nothing; and if the term *essence* be the same with *substance*, and the *logos* be, as the orthodox said, *God of God*, or one God made out of another, the term *ουσιον* *ουσιον*, con-

\* Tota sæcularum literarum schola nihil aliud hypostasin, nisi usiam, novit. Et quis, rogo, ore sacrilego tres substantias prædicabit?—Sufficiat nobis dicere, unam substantiam, tres personas subsistentes, perfectas, æquales, co-æternas. Taceantur tres hypostases: si placet, et una teneatur. Epist. 57. Opera, vol. 1. p. 417.

† Non audiemus dicere unam essentiam, tres substantias, sed unam essentiam vel substantiam, tres autem personas. De Trinitate, lib. 5. cap. 9. Opera, vol. 3. p. 321.

*substantial,*

*substantial*, was, no doubt, very proper to express their idea of his origin, as opposed to that of the Arians. An account of the objections that were made to the use of the term at that time, of the reasons for adopting it, and of the sense in which it was admitted, is thus given by the historian Socrates. He says, that “the term *con-* “*substantial* was objected to as implying “the production of one thing from an- “other, either according to *division*, or “*fluxion*, or *prolation*; *prolation* signifying “the production of a branch from a root; “*fluxion* that of children from a father; “and *division* the making two or three “masses of gold from one; and that the “generation of the Son resembles none of “these\*.”

In defence of the term it was said, that “God is not to be considered as a material “being, but as immaterial, intellectual, “and incorporeal, and therefore incapable

\* Επεὶ γὰρ εἶδον ὁμοῦσιον εἶναι, οὐκ τινος εἶναι, ἢ κατὰ μερισμὸν, ἢ κατὰ ρευσιν, ἢ κατὰ προβολὴν. κατὰ προβολὴν μὲν, ὡς ἐκ ριζῶν βλάστημα. κατὰ δὲ ρευσιν, ὡς οἱ πατρικοὶ παῖδες. κατὰ μερισμὸν δὲ, ὡς βωλὴ χρυσοῖδες δύο ἢ τρεῖς. καὶ ὅθεν δὲ τῶν εἶναι οὐ υἱός. Hist. lib. i. cap. 8. p. 22.



“ of any bodily affections ; and that the  
 “ subject is to be considered in a divine  
 “ and hidden manner\*.” At length, it  
 was interpreted to mean “ from no other  
 “ essence or hypostasis, than that of the  
 “ Father only † ;” so that the *mode* of  
 production, about which they could not  
 agree, was left undetermined.

The reasoning of Chrysostom on this  
 subject seems to be fair, and to justify the  
 Fathers of Nice. For he says, that “ every  
 “ thing that is generated is always con-  
 “ substantial with that which generates, not  
 “ in man only, but in all living creatures,  
 “ and in plants ‡ ;” that is, every thing  
 produces its like ; and the maxim must  
 apply to the case of the Divine Being, as

\* Μὴτε γὰρ δύνασθαι τὴν αὐλὸν καὶ νοεραν, καὶ ἀσωμάτου φύσιν, σω-  
 μάτιμον τι πάθος υφίστασθαι. θείοις δὲ καὶ ἀπορρητοῖς ῥήμασι, προσήκει  
 τα τοιαῦτα νοεῖν. Hist. lib. i. cap. 8. p. 24.

† Καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐξ ἐλευθέρου τε ὑποστάσεως καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς.  
 Ibid. p. 25.

‡ Τέλο γὰρ ἔχει ταῖς γραφαῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κοινῇ πάντων τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων δοξῇ, καὶ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων φύσει μαχομένου εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ  
 ὁμοῦσι οὗ γενηθεὶς τῷ γενησάντι, καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ  
 ζῶων ἀπᾶντων, καὶ ἐπὶ δένδρων τέλος ἰδοὶ τίς αὖν. Hom. 32. Opera,  
 vol. 1. p. 406.

well

well as to every other ; so that if the Son was really produced from the Father, from his own essence, and not created out of nothing, he must necessarily be consubstantial with the Father.

Still, however, the term *essence* was not relished. The reason of this is more particularly given by Socrates, who says, that “ the word *essence*, though used with simplicity by the Fathers, yet being unknown “ to the common people, and not being “ contained in the scriptures, gave offence ; “ so that it was thought proper to disuse it, “ and that no mention should be made of “ the *essence* of God for the future ; but “ that it should rather be said, that the “ Son is like to the Father in all things\*.”

Notwithstanding the opposition made by the Latin church, the language adopted by the council of Nice continued to be in use ; though even so late as the time of

\* Το δε ονομα της εσσης δια το απλυστερον υπο των πατερων τε-  
δεισθαι, αγνοουμενον δε υπο των λαων, σκανδαλον φερειν, δια το μητε τας  
γραφας τελος περιεχειν, ηρεσε τελος περιαιρεσθηναι η παντεως μηδεμιαν  
μνημην εσσης επι δεσ ειναι τε λοιπα, δια το τας θειας γραφας μηδεμιαν  
περι πατρος η υιου εσσης μεμνησθαι. ομοιον δε λεγομεν τον υιον του  
πατρος καλα πατρη. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 37. p. 137.



Basil, the signification of these terms was not so well settled, but that many persons, he says, confounded *essence* with *hypostasis*.\*

The term *φύσις*, *nature*, it seems, had been proposed by some, but with respect to the doctrine of the *trinity*, Gregory Nazianzen says, that he preferred the word *essence*†. And in time the term *essence* was established as the general name, applicable to each of the three persons, and *hypostasis* was applied to them severally‡; so that it was thought proper to say that the *trinity* consisted of *three hypostases in one essence*; and also the term *πρόσωπον*, *person*, was used as synonymous to *hypostasis*§. This term was proba-

\* Επειδή πολλοὶ το κοινὸν τῆς ἁγίας, ἐπὶ τῶν μυστικῶν δογματικῶν, μὴ διακρονοῦντες ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὑποστάσεων λόγῃ, ταῖς αἰδέας συνεμπληροῦσιν ὑπονοοῖαι· καὶ οὐλοῦναι διαφέρειν μὴδὲν ἁγίαν ἢ ὑπόστασιν λέγειν. Epist. Opera, vol. 3. p. 63.

† Ἦν ἂν τις ὁρῶνς, ἁγίαν μάλλον ἢ φύσιν καλοῦν. Or. 45. p. 717.

‡ Substantiæ (φύσεως) declaratio videtur sicut commune et universale quiddam esse, nomina vero subsistentiarum singularum (ὑποστάσεις) sub illo universale prædicantur. Cyril. Alex. De Trinitate, lib. 1. Opera, vol. 2. p. 362.

§ Το μὲν ἐν, τῇ ἁγίᾳ γινώσκοντες, καὶ τῷ ἀμερίστῳ τῆς προσκυνήσεως, τὰ δὲ τρία, ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν εἰς ἓν πρόσωποις, οὐ τισὶ φύσιν. Gr. Nazianzeni, Opera, Or. 32. p. 520.

bly borrowed from the Latin *persona*, which was always used in the Latin church to denote the difference between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; for they said that there were *three persons in one divine essence*, or God. This, however, was deviating a little from the original use of the term, which expressed a difference of *character*, such as the same person might appear in at different times, and therefore favoured a little of Sabellianism.

Notwithstanding every thing seemed to be so well settled about the meaning of these terms, yet as they were applied to a subject concerning which men could not pretend to have any ideas, they were no more than mere *sounds*; and those who pretended to see farther into the subject than others still continued to differ, and even to refine about the use of the terms; and the most ancient signification was not wholly lost sight of. Thus Damascenus says, that “the word *hypostasis* has two significations, viz. one of mere existence, in which it does not differ from *substance*, and sometimes that which subsists of  
“ itself,



“itself, by which individuals of the same  
 “species are distinguished, as Peter and  
 “Paul \*;” that is, *hypostasis* may in one  
 sense be used for *essence*, to which, as I have  
 observed, it was originally synonymous.

### SECTION III.

#### *Illustrations of the Doctrine of the Trinity.*

HAVING settled this new doctrine of  
 the trinity, and ascertained the use of  
 the terms in which it was thought proper  
 to express it, I come to give a view of the  
 principal *illustrations* of it. For though it  
 was spoken of as a greater *mystery* than  
 ever, and we are cautioned not to expect

\* *Hypostaseos nomen duplicem significationem habet. Interdum enim simplicem existentiam significat. Quo significatu inter substantiam et hypostasim nihil interest. Unde etiam nonnulli sanctorum patrum, naturas, hoc est hypostasēs ipsas appellarunt. Interdum rursus eam, quæ per se est, ac seorsim subsistit, existentiam; qua significatione individuum id quod numero differt, significat, ut Petrum, Paulum, ac certum aliquem equum. Dialectica, cap. 42. Opera, p. 641.*

to

to find any thing in nature to resemble it; yet every writer, who thought that he had hit upon any thing that would contribute to make the reception of it more easy, did not fail to enlarge upon his own conceit. Some writers have done this with a considerable degree of confidence; and by this means we may clearly perceive what it was that, in their opinion, constituted the relation of the three persons to each other. But in all their schemes, the nature of the subject restricted them to a choice of two insuperable difficulties, each of them fatal to the doctrine of any proper *trinity in unity*; for either the *trinity* or the *unity* was necessarily abandoned.

Photius very truly observes, that, “ to  
“ recite all the answers which the Fathers  
“ have given to the question, why, when  
“ the Father, Son, and Spirit, are each of  
“ them separately God, we should not say,  
“ that there are *three Gods*? would make a  
“ book, instead of an epistle\*.” I shall  
not therefore attempt to give them all.

\* Ερώτας, πως εστι λεγειν, Θεον τον πατερα, Θεον τον υιον, Θεον το πνευμα, και μη εις αναγκην περισσασθαι, τρεις, ανθ ενος, θεος απομολογειν. Εγω σοι σαφως και συντομως ερω. Παραδειγματα μεν γαρ  
πολλα



The following explications are such as are favourable to the unity of the divine nature, but, unfavourable to a trinity. —

Fire, says a writer whose work has been ascribed to Athanasius, “is one, but has  
“three hypostases: its burning power is  
“one, and its shining power another; so  
“that there are three hypostases in one  
“fire, viz. the fire, its burning power, and  
“its shining power; and yet the nature  
“of the fire is one, and not three. So  
“also with respect to God \*.” This is  
only giving one being two properties, to  
which no unitarian will object.

Basil says, “the greatest proof of the  
“connexion between the Spirit and the  
“Father and the Son, is, that it has the  
“same relation to the Father that the spirit

πολλα και ποικιλα, τοις δειοις ημων παϊρασιν, εις το διαλυσαι την απρ-  
ριαν ταυτην υπ αυτης της αληθειας, υπερ ης εσπεδαζον, αφθονως τε  
χρηστηγη και εις δεον διαλειταται· αν ειης επιμνησθηναι δελησειε βιβλιον  
ολον αυλ επιτολης αυ γραφει. Epist. p. 214.

\* Ιδου το πυρ εν εστι, αλλως κη τρισυποστατον· αυλο ναρ εν εστι το  
υποκειμενον πυρ, το δε καυτικον αυλη εϊερον προσωπον, κη το φωτισικον  
αυλη αλλον προσωπον. ιδου λοιπον τρια προσωπα τε ενος πυρος, ηγαν  
το υποκειμενον πυρ, κη το καυτικον, κη το φωτισικον, μια δε φυσις τε  
πυρος. κη 8 τρεις· ομοιως κη επι τε δεσ. *Questiones alie, Ope-  
ra*, vol. 2. p. 440.

“ of

of a man has to the man \*." To this illustration also no unitarian will have any objection; and still less to that of Marius Victorinus, who, in his hymn concerning the trinity, says, "when thou redest thou art the Father, when thou proceedest the Son, as uniting all into one, thou art the Holy Spirit. †." After this we cannot wonder that the Arians, as the author of a work ascribed to Athanasius complains, should charge the Trinitarians with Sabellianism, because they made God and the Son to be one ‡.

In the famous controversy between Rabbi Nachmanides, before the king of Aragon in 1263, the christian disputant made a trinity of the wisdom, the will, and the intellect of God; and the king il-

\* Το δε μεγιστον τεκμηριον της προς τον πατερα υιου τε πνευματος συναφειας, δι' οτου εχουν λεγεται προς τον θεον, ως προς εαυτον εχει το πνευμα το εν ημιν. De Sp. S. cap. 16. Opera, vol. 2. p. 329.

† Tu cum quiescis pater es, cum procedis filius,

In unum qui cuncta nectes, tu es spiritus sanctus.

Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 360.

‡ Συ Σαβελλιος ει' ΑΘ. ειπεν δια τι ειμι Σαβελλιος. ΑΡ. ειπεν επειδη ειπας, ο πατηρ υι' ο υι' εν εστιν. Disp. contra Aruim, Opera, vol. 1. p. 116.

Illustrated



illustrated it by the properties of taste, colour, and smell in wine. But the Jew answered, that, upon this principle, he could prove God to be five-fold, because God had life, wisdom, will, power, and strength.

On the other hand, the great mass of comparisons that were made between the trinity and things in nature, shows that, in the opinion of the writers, the three persons, though nominally *one God*, were, in fact, considered as *three parts of one whole*, though some of them will be found to express *three wholes*, and to be only *one* by their possession of some common property. Indeed, the subject did not admit of any thing better.

The most conspicuous of the emblems of the trinity is that of the *sun*. "Know," says the writer quoted above, whose work has been ascribed to Athanasius, "from

† Postea consurrexit Frater Raymundus, de trinitate verba faciens, aitque judæis: agnoscite tandem trinitatem. Deus enim sapientia, voluntate ac intellectu constat. — Cæterum, rex in hanc rem proponebat similitudinem, quam corrupti et corruptores magistri illum docuerant. Vino, inquebat, tria hæc insunt: sapor, color, et odor, atque tria ista res eadem sunt. R. Nachman. p. 58. 59.

"this

“ this, that as the sun has three persons, so  
 “ the one God has three persons: For the  
 “ sun’s disk is the type of the Father, the  
 “ beam is the type of the Son, and the  
 “ light is the type of the Holy Spirit. Say,  
 “ therefore, thus—In the sun there is a  
 “ disk, a beam, and light; but we do not  
 “ say there are three suns, but only one.  
 “ So likewise in God the Father, Son, and  
 “ Holy Spirit, are not three Gods, but one  
 “ God\*.” But it is obvious to remark,  
 that neither the beam of light, nor the light  
 itself, can be called a *sun*, as the Son and  
 Holy Spirit are called God. Equally de-  
 fective is Basil’s comparison of the three  
 persons in the trinity to the rainbow and its  
 colours, “ the substance of which,” he says,  
 “ is one, but their distinction manifest,  
 “ though they run into one another †.”

\* Καὶ ἐκ τούτου γινώσκωμε, ὅτι ὡς περὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐστὶ τριπροσώπος, εἰς,  
 καὶ εἰς θεὸς τρισυνποσάτος· τυπὸς γὰρ τῆ πατρὸς ἐστὶ ὁ δίσκος ὁ ἡλιακός,  
 τυπὸς τῆ υἱὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀκτὶς, τυπὸς τῆ ἁγίας πνεύματος ἐστὶ τὸ φῶς τῆ ἡλίου.  
 καὶ εἴπε εἰς, ἑπτὰ τῆ ἡλίου, δίσκος, ἀκτὶς, καὶ φῶς· καὶ λεγόμενός τε τρεῖς  
 ἡλῖες, ἀλλὰ ἐνὰ καὶ μόνον· ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ θεῶν, πατὴρ, υἱός, καὶ ἁγίον  
 πνεῦμα εἰς θεὸς καὶ καὶ τρεῖς. Opera, vol. 2. p. 437.

† Ὡς περὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἐν μὲν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ὕλην τὸ αἶρος, πολλὰ δὲ  
 ἐν αὐτῇ χρωματὰ φαινόμενα, καὶ φανερώς τὰς διαφορὰς τούτων διαγιγνώσκο-



The pretended Dionysius Areopagita, with great ingenuity, compares the *union* and *distinctness* of the three persons in the trinity, to the perfect union, and perfect distinctness, of the light of a number of lamps in a room, none of which can be distinguished from that of the others; and yet that they are really distinct, appears by removing one of them, when it takes its own light only along with it, and leaves that which belonged to the rest \*.

To pass from the *sun* to *vision*, I shall here observe, that Austin says, “we have  
“an emblem of the trinity in the thing that  
“is seen, the impresson that it makes upon

μεν ἡ δύναμις δὲ τῇ αἰσθησὶ καὶ λαλεῖν τὴν διασπιν τῆ ἐρεῖα πρὸς τὸ  
ἐρεον. M. Caleca in Combefis, vol. 2. p. 243.

\* Καὶ γὰρ ὁρῶμεν ἐν οἴκῳ πολλῶν ἐνοίων λαμπτήρων, πρὸς ἐν τὴ φῶς  
ἐνβληντα τὰ πᾶντων φῶτα, καὶ μίαν αἰγλήν ἀδιακρίτον ἀναλαμπτονία καὶ  
ἐκ αὐτῆς, ὡς οἱ αἱ. δύναμις τε δὲ τῆ λαμπτήρος τὸ φῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλ-  
λων, ἐκ τῆ πᾶντα τὰ φῶτα περιεχοῦτος αἰετος διακρίναι, καὶ ἰδεῖν ἀνευ  
δαίμονος δαίμονος, ὧν ἐν οἴκῳ ἀμύγῳ συνεκραμενῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν  
τῆς τῶν πυρσῶν ὑπέξαγαγοὶ τὰ δαίμονος συνεκτελεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ οἰκίου  
ἀπᾶν φῶς, καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐρεῶν φῶτων ἐν αὐτῷ συνεκτελεῖσθαι, καὶ τῇ  
αὐτῇ τοῖς ἐρεοῖς καὶ λαλεῖ πον. De Divinis Nominibus, cap. 2.

P. 170.

the

“the eye, and the sense of vision †.” But this is still more defective than the preceding.

The greatest number of illustrations of the trinity, by the ancients, is drawn from the consideration of the *mind of man* and its properties; and they were led to look for these illustrations here, rather than in other parts of nature; because man, being made after the image of God, they took it for granted that he must resemble the trinity.

Gregory Nyssen says, that “ God made  
“ such a creature as man, because he intend-  
“ ed to publish the mystery of the holy tri-  
“ nity, that being difficult to be under-  
“ stood, man might have in himself an

† Itaque potissimum testimonio utamur oculorum. Is enim sensus corporis maxime excellit, et est visioni mentis pro sui generis diversitate vicinior. Cum igitur aliquod corpus videmus, hæc tria, quod facillimum est, consideranda sunt et dignoscenda. Prima ipsa res quam videmus, sive lapidem, sive aliquam flammam, sive quid aliud quod videri oculis potest, quod utique jam esse poterat, et antequam videretur. Deinde visio quæ non erat, priusquam rem illam objectam sensui sentiremus. Tertio quod in ea re quæ videtur, quamdiu videtur sensum detinet oculorum, id est, animi intentio. De Trinitate, lib. 11. cap. 2. vol. 3. p. 379.



“image, likeness, and pattern of the holy trinity\*.” Even the Platonists had gone before the orthodox in supposing that there was something in the constitution of the mind of man, corresponding to the three great principles in nature. This is strongly expressed by Plotinus†.

Of such illustrations as these, the writings of Austin particularly contain a great variety; but he was preceded in them by his master Ambrose, and also by another writer, whose work has been ascribed to Athanasius; who says, “man, viz. the soul of man, is the image of God; but the soul of man, being one, has three hypostases, and three persons. How? Hear. The soul is one person, but the soul generates *logos*, i. e. *reason*, and now the

\* Δια γὰρ ταύτην καὶ μόνην τὴν αἰδίαν τοῦτον ζῶν ὁ θεὸς καλεσμενάσεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμελλεν ἐν κόσμῳ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος μυστήριον, ὡς δυσερμηνεύσιον τε καὶ ἀκατάληπτον \* ἵνα ἔχῃ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὁ πατὴρ εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν θεῶν, τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν καὶ τὰς τυπὰς καὶ τὰ παραδειγματὰ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος. In Gen. i. 26. Opera, vol. i. p. 863.

† Ὡς περὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ φύσει τρίτῃ ἐστὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, εἰς ἃ χρὴ νόμίζειν καὶ παρὰ ἡμῶν ταῦτα εἶναι. λέγω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. En. 5. lib. i. cap. 10. p. 491.

“reason

“reason is another person. The soul emits  
“the breath” (or spirit) “and behold the  
“spirit is another person. Behold then  
“three persons, the *soul*, *reason*, and *spirit*\*.”  
On this very curious illustration, no par-  
ticular remarks will be expected.

Ambrose makes the *intellect*, the *will*, and  
“the *memory*, emblems of the trinity; and  
says, “The intellect is the soul, the will is  
“the soul, and the memory is the soul;  
“and yet there are not three souls in  
“one body, but one soul, having three dig-  
“nities, or attributes.” He says farther,  
“as the Son is generated out of the Father,  
“and the Spirit proceeds from the Father  
“and the Son, so the will is generated out  
“of the intellect, as is easily understood by  
“those who have knowledge†.”

\* Ἰδὲ λοιπὸν, ὁ ἀνθρώπος εἰκὼν ἐστὶ τὰ θεῶν, ἦγεν ἡ ψυχὴ τὰ ἀνθρώ-  
πων. ἐνὶ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τὰ ἀνθρώπων μία μὲν, τρισυπόστατος δὲ. τρία πρό-  
σωπα ἔχει ἡ ψυχὴ. καὶ πῶς, ἀκρίστον. ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν προσώπῳ. ἡ  
δὲ ψυχὴ γεννᾷ τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἰδὲ ὁ λόγος ἄλλο πρόσωπον. ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκ-  
πορεύει καὶ τὴν πνοήν, καὶ ἰδὲ ἡ πνοὴ ἄλλο πρόσωπον. ἰδὲ πρόσωπα  
τρία, ψυχὴ, λόγος, καὶ πνοὴ. Opera, vol. 2. p. 439.

† Ita et anima intellectus, anima voluntas, anima me-  
moria : non tamen tres animæ in uno corpore sed una ani-



But Austin has discovered the most ingenuity in his illustrations of the trinity, drawn from the consideration of the faculties of the mind. He says, that “*memory, intellect, and love, are an image of the trinity*”.\* But he acknowledges that this is not a perfect resemblance, as all images are imperfect. He compares “*the joint operation of the Father, Son, and Spirit to the joint exertion of the intellect,*

*ma tres habens dignitates. / Nam sicut ex patre generatur filius, et ex patre filioque procedit spiritus sanctus: ita ex intellectu generatur voluntas, et ex his item ambobus procedit memoria, sicut facile a sapiente quolibet intelligi potest. De Dignitate, &c. Opera, vol. I. p. 106.*

\* Ego per omnia tria illa memini, ego intelligo, ego diligo, qui nec memoria sum, nec intelligentia, nec dilectio, sed hæc habeo. Ista ergo dici possunt ab una persona, quæ habet hæc tria, non ipsa est hæc tria. In illius vero summa simplicitate naturæ quæ Deus est, quamvis unus sit Deus, tres tamen personæ sunt, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus. Aliud est itaque trinitas res ipsa, aliud imago trinitatis in re alia, propter quam imaginem simul et illud in quo sunt hæc tria, imago dicitur: sicut imago dicitur simul et tabula et quod in ea pictum est; sed propter picturam quæ in ea est, simul et tabula nomine imaginis appellatur. De Trinitate, lib. 15, cap. 22. Op. vol. 3. p. 469.

“*memory*

“memory, and will of man, each of them  
 “being employed in the acts of each.” So  
 he says, “the whole trinity operates in the  
 “voice from the Father, the flesh of the  
 “Son, and the dove of the Holy Spirit,  
 “though they are separately referred to  
 “each of them\*.” He also compares the  
 trinity to the *mind*, its *knowledge*, and its  
*love* †. Again, he says, “*to be, to know,*  
 “and *to will*, are properties that mutually  
 “involve each other; and yet belong to one  
 “soul;” and this he gives as an illustration  
 of the trinity ‡.

Manuel Caleca says it would be more  
 proper to denominate the three persons  
 from the nature of the soul, *mind, reason,*

\* Et quemadmodum cum memoriam meam et intellec-  
 tum et voluntatem nomino, singula quidem nomina ad  
 res singulas referunt, sed tamen ab omnibus tribus singulis  
 facta sunt: nullum enim horum trium nominum est, quod  
 non et memoria et intellectus et voluntas mea simul ope-  
 rata sint: ita trinitas simul operata est et vocem patris, et  
 carnem filii, et columbam spiritus sancti, cum ad singulas  
 personas hæc singula referant. De Trinitate, lib. 4.  
 cap. 20. Opera, vol. 3. p. 314.

† Ibid. lib. 9. cap. 3. p. 360.

‡ Dico autem hæc tria, esse, nosse, velle. Confess. lib.  
 13. cap. 11. Opera, vol. 1. p. 219.



and love, than from the body, by the names of Father, Son, and Spirit \*.”

Gregory Nazianzen thought that the soul, its intellect, and its desire, were an emblem of the trinity, as not being divided from each other †.” He also compares the trinity to the *νοῦς*, intellect, *λογος*, reason, and *πνεῦμα*, spirit, of man; but acknowledges that it is imperfect ‡.”

According to Methodius, quoted by Gregory Nyssen, “the soul, the mind, and “the spirit of a man, are emblems of the “trinity; the soul which is unbegotten, “representing the Father, the mind, or “logos, which is generated, the Son, and

\* Ὡς ἀπο τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν εἰκόνα λαμβανούτες, οικειοτέρως προσερε-  
μεν τὸν θεῖον νῦν, καὶ λόγον, καὶ ἀγαπὴν, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς σωματικῆς πάλης, καὶ  
μῆτος, καὶ πνεύματος, αὐτὸν ὀνομαζούτες. *De Principiis*, in Combesis,  
vol. 2. p. 233.

† Οὐλοῦμαι νοῦν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τῆς πατρὸς μὴ χωρισθέντα πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ  
τῆς δὲ πατρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ νοῦ τὴν ἐνδυμῆσιν. ὡς  
γὰρ ἐν ἐστὶ μέλας νε καὶ ἐνδυμῆσιν, καὶ ψυχῆς διαίρεσιν ἐκτινόνθηται  
τινα καὶ τοῦ νῦν, ὥς καὶ τῆς ἁγίας πνεύματος καὶ τῆς σωματικῆς καὶ τῆς πα-  
τρὸς, ἐν μεσῷ τόμῳ ἢ διαίρεσιν ἐκτινόνθηται ποτε. Or. 45. p. 719.

‡ Αὐτοὶ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶδεναι φύσιν θεοῦ, ἀναρχῶν, καὶ  
γεννησεί, καὶ προοδῶ γνωριζομένην. ὡς νοῦ τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πνευ-  
ματι, ὅσον εἰκασαὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τὰ νοήματα, καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς τὰ μεγάλα.  
Or. 13. p. 211.

“ the

“ the spirit, or breath, which *proceedeth*,  
 “ the Holy Spirit; and there is this farther analogy, that the *logos* is two-fold, internal and external, which corresponds to the two-fold nature of Christ\*.”  
 “ The soul,” says this writer again, “ has  
 “ three powers, the *rational*, *irascible*, and  
 “ *concupiscible* faculties, another emblem of  
 “ the trinity.†”

\* Ἀλλὰ γε δὴ ἐπὶ αὐτὸ το καὶ ριζαίον τε καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοιωσιν ἐλθόμεν, ὅπως καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις δείξωμεν το μοναδικόν της εν τριάδι θεότητος. ποίον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ το; εὐδελον οἱ η ημετέρα παλιν ψυχή, καὶ ο τῆς νοερός λόγος καὶ ο νος, οὕτως ο ἀποστολὸς πνεύμα προσήγορευσεν, οἱ διακελευέσθαι αἰνὸς ημᾶς εἶναι τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ τῷ σωματι, καὶ τῷ πνευματι. Ἀγεννητός μὲν γὰρ παλιν ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή καὶ ἀναίτιος, εἰς τυπὸν ἀγεννητῆ καὶ τῆ ἀναίτιος θεῶ καὶ πατρός. ἐκ ἀγεννητός δὲ ο νοερός αἰνὸς λόγος, ἀλλ' ἐξ αἰνὸς γεννωμενός ἀρρητός, καὶ ἀορατός καὶ ἀνερίμνητός, καὶ ἀπαθής.

Τὸ δὲ παραδοξότερον τῶν παραδόξων τῶν ἐκεῖνο ἐστὶν, οἱ ψυχὴν μὲν ἀπλὴν τίνα ἔχομεν, ὁμοίως καὶ νῦν μοναδικόν καὶ ἀσυνδέον. λόγον δὲ διπλὴν ἔχοντες, τὸν αὐτὸν τὴν γενέσθαι καὶ ἑνὰ καὶ ἀμερίστον φυλαττομενον. In Gen. i. 26. Opera, vol. i. p. 858. 859.

† Ὅθεν καὶ τριμερὴ παλιν αὐτὴν τὴν ημετέραν ψυχὴν καθ' ἑαυτὴν τίνα τρόπον οἱ ἐξω σοφοὶ εἶναι ὠρισαντο, ἐπιδυμητικὸν αὐτὴν φασι ποιεῖν ἔχειν καὶ λογιστικὸν καὶ θυμικόν, ὅπως δ. α. μὲν τὰ ἐπιδυμητικὰ πρὸς τὴν θεὸν ἀγαπὴν συναπτεῖται. διὰ δὲ τὰ λογιστικὰ τὴν παρ' αὐτῆς γινώσκον καὶ σοφίαν εἰσδεχέσθαι. διὰ δὲ τὰ θυμικὰ πρὸς τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πονή-



In all the preceding comparisons, the three persons are, in fact, *parts of one whole*, and yet this idea is reprobated by Austin, who says, "there is another heresy which asserts that God is three-fold, that the Father is one part, the Son another, and the Spirit a third, that all these parts of God make a trinity, so that none of them are perfect of themselves \*."

According to another set of comparisons the three persons of the trinity agree in nothing but in having *one common property*, and in that sense, three men might make a trinity; but then their *unity* is entirely abandoned. Athanasius, and many others after the council of Nice, became absolute tritheists on this principle; believing that the Father, Son, and Spirit, are no other-

*πρὸς ἀντιλήψιν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ αὐτοῖς τοῖς τρεῖσι τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ διαγραφεσθαι.* In Gen. 1. 26. Opera, vol. 1. p. 859.

\* Est alia, quæ triformem sic asserit Deum, ut quædam pars ejus sit pater, quædam filius, quædam spiritus sanctus; hoc est quod Dei unius partes sint, quæ istam faciunt trinitatem, velut ex his tribus partibus compleatur Deus, nec sit perfectus in seipso, vel pater, vel filius, vel spiritus sanctus. Catalogus, Hær. Opera, vol. 6. p. 29.

wife

wise *one*, than as having one common nature. Athanasius, considering this question, says, "Since the Father is called " God, the Son God, and the Holy Spirit " God; how is it that there are not three " Gods," answers, " that where there is a " common nature, the name of the dignity " is likewise common\*." He illustrates this by God's calling the whole human race, by the name of *man*, in the singular number, and by Moses speaking of the *horse* and the *horseman* being drowned in the red sea; when, in fact, great numbers of each sort were intended. " If this," says he, " be the case with respect to men, who " differ so much as they do from each " other, so that all men may be called one " man, much more may we call the trinity one God; when their dignity is " undivided, they have one kingdom, one " power, will, and energy, which distinguishes the trinity from created things†."

\* Καὶ πῶς φησὶ δύνασθαι λέγεσθαι ὁ πατήρ θεός, καὶ υἱὸς θεός, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον θεός, καὶ ἔ τρεῖς εἰσὶ θεοί; ὅπως κοινὰ τὰ τῆς φύσεως, κοινὸν καὶ ὄνομα τῆς ἀξίας. De Communi Essentia, Opera, vol. 1. p. 213.

† Διὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς φύσεως πάντα ἡ οἰκημένη εἰς ἀνθρώπου ἐκλήθη· ὅπως δὲ ἀμερίστος ἡ ἀξία, μία βασιλεία, μία δύναμις



In the dialogue against the Macedonians, written after the age of Athanasius, the orthodox speaker is represented as saying, "As Paul, Peter, and Timothy are of one nature, and three hypostases, so I say the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three hypostases, and one nature \*."

In the following illustration of this comparison, it will clearly appear, that all idea of a proper unity in the trinity was abandoned; since the three persons were only considered as having the common property of divinity, just as three men have the common property of humanity. "Peter, Paul, and Timothy, are three, but not three men," says Theodoret, "because they must then have been discordant to each other, as Jew, Gentile, and christian; but if they say the same thing, and there be no division among them, they are three hypostases, but one in the Lord; because they have one heart and one soul.

μὴς καὶ βουλὴ καὶ ἐνεργεῖα, ἰδιαζούσα τὴν τριάδα ἀπὸ τῆς κτιστικῆς, ἐν ᾧ λέγω θεόν. De comm. Essen. Op. vol. 1 p. 214.

\* Ὡς περ Παυλὸς, καὶ Πέτρος, καὶ Τιμόθεος, φύσεως μίας εἰσι καὶ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, ἕως πατέρα, καὶ υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις λέγω, καὶ μίαν φύσιν. Opera, vol. 2. p. 269.

"They

“They are three in number, but not on account of a diversity of nature, or heart\*.”

When the trinity was compared to Peter, James, and John, and it was observed that they were three distinct men, Gregory Nyssen replies, “first, that though this be the case with *men*, it is not so with *God*.” He afterwards says, that “the term is improper, and that it is an abuse of language in this case to say *three men*, for that it is the same thing as saying there are three human natures †.” He also says, that

\* Οὐκ εἰς νεῖσι τρεῖς Πέτρῳ καὶ Παυλῷ, καὶ Τιμοθεῷ. Ο. τρεῖς μὲν εἰσι ἀλλ’ ἢ τρεῖς ἀνθρώποι. Α. Πες; Ο. οἱ τρεῖς εἰσὶν ἀνθρώποι ὅταν ἀνομοίαν ἔχωσιν τὴν καρδίαν, ὡς Ἕλληνας, καὶ Ἰουδαίους, καὶ χριστιανούς. ὅταν δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ λεγώσιν καὶ μὴ εἰναι ἐν αὐτοῖς χρισμὰς, τρεῖς μὲν εἰσιν ὑπόστασεις εἰς δὲ ἓν κυρίως, μίαν ψυχὴν ἔχοντες καὶ μίαν καρδίαν. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν εἰσὶν ἀριθμῶ, ἀλλ’ ἐκ ἐξομολογίας φύσεως, ἢ καρδίας. Ad. Anomæos, Opera, vol. 5. p. 275.

† Τίδη ποτε τοῖνυν ἐν τῇ καθ’ ἡμᾶς συνήθειᾳ καθ’ ἓνα τοὺς ἐν τῇ φύσει τῇ αὐτῇ δεικνόμενους ἀπαριθμησάγτες πληθυντικῶς ὀνομαζόμεν, τοσοῦτος λεγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ οὐχὶ ἓνα τοὺς πάντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἐκβάλλει τὸ πληθὸς τῶν θείων ὁ τε δογματικὸς λόγος, καὶ ἀριθμῶν τὰς ὑποστάσεις, καὶ τὴν πληθυντικὴν σημασίαν ἢ προσδεχόμενος. — Φαμεν τοῖνυν πρῶτον κατὰ χρῆσιν τίνα συνήθειας εἶναι τὸ τῆς διηρημένους τῇ φύσει κατ’ αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως ὄνομα πληθυντικῶς ὀνομαζέειν, καὶ λέγειν, οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνθρώποι. ὡς ομοίον εἶναι τὸ λέγειν, ὅτι πολλὰι φύσεις ἀνθρώπων. Opera, vol. 2. p. 449.

“though



“ though the men are three, the Father,  
 “ Son, and Spirit are not, because all their  
 “ actions are joint, and none of them does  
 “ any thing separately \*.” “ With respect  
 “ to men,” he says, “ there is no danger of  
 “ being led into any mistake, as if more  
 “ human natures were intended; but the  
 “ language of scripture is more exact with  
 “ respect to God, lest more divine natures  
 “ should be understood, and therefore we  
 “ are told, that there is but one God †.”

This writer expresses himself more concisely, and to the purpose, when he says,  
 “ they are not *three*, because there is *one* di-  
 “ *vinity* †.” And also Basil, when he says,

\* *Επι δε της θείας φύσεως, ἡ χ εἰς ἐμαδομέν, ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ποιεῖ τι καθ' ἑαυτόν, ἡ μὴ συνεφαπτεται υἱός. ἡ παλιν ὁ υἱός ἰδιαζόντως ἐνέργει τι χωρὶς τοῦ πνεύματος.* Ibid. p. 455.

† *Δια τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου συγχωρεῖ πλῆθυντικῶς ὀνομαζέσθαι, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ σχηματὶ τῆς φωνῆς εἰς πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων τὰς ὑπονοίας ἐκπίπτειν, μὴδὲ νομίζεσθαι πολλὰς ἀνθρώπιναις φύσεσιν σημαίνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ πλῆθυντικῶς ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ὄνομα. τὸ δὲ θεὸς φωνὴν παρὰ τὴν ῥημῶς κατὰ τὸν εἰκὸν ἐξαγγέλλει τύπον, τὸ πρὸς μὴδὲν, τὸ μὴ διαφορὰς φύσεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς θείας εἰς ἐν τῇ πλῆθυντικῇ σημασίᾳ τῶν θεῶν παρὶσσεύεσθαι. θεοῦ, φησὶ, κύριος ὁ θεός, κύριος εἰς εἰς.* Ibid. p. 458.

‡ *Δια τὴν ἡ τρεῖς; ὅτι μία θεότης* Or. 1. Opera, vol. 1. p. 141.

“ to

“to those who accuse us of making three  
“Gods, we answer, that we acknowledge  
“one God, not in number, but in na-  
“ture\*.” It is very extraordinary, that men  
should express themselves in this manner,  
and yet imagine that they were not tritheists.  
This writer also says, “a king and his  
“image do not make two kings †.” But  
then the image of a king is not a king,  
though he would maintain that Christ, the  
image of God, was himself God.

Cyril of Jerusalem varies this compari-  
son, when he says, “the Father resembles a  
“king, who has a son, who is a king also,  
“and who gives his orders to be executed  
“by his son ‡;” but here unhappily there  
are two kings, and not one.

\* Προς δε τας επηρεαζοντας ημας το τριθεον, εκεινο λεγο-  
σθω οτι περ ημεις ενα θεον, & τω αριθμω, αλλα τη φυσηι ομο-  
λογουμεν. Epist. 141. Opera, vol. 3. p. 164.

† Ουδε γαρ ο κατα την αγραν τη βασιλικη εικονι ενα τε-  
νιζων, και βασιλεα λεγων τον εν τω πινακι, δυο βασιλεας  
ομολογει, την τε εικονα, και τον & εστιν η εικων. Hom. 27.  
Opera, vol. 1. p. 522.

‡ Ωσπερ γαρ αν τις βασιλευσ, βασιλεα υιον εχων, βελομεν  
κατασκευασται πολιν, υποδοιτο τω υιω συμβασιλευοντι την κα-  
τασκευην της πολεως. Cat. 11. Opera, p. 146.

Austin,



Austin, who by no means keeps to one explanation of a thing, on one occasion extricates himself from the great difficulty of making three gods in a very curious manner: He says, that, "in saying the Holy Spirit is God, or the Son of God is God, and the Father God, I say *God three times*, but I do not say *three Gods*; for *three times God is more than three Gods* \*."

The different origins of the three persons in the trinity were thought to be illustrated by the case of Adam, Eve, and their son, in the following ingenious manner, by Methodius, as it is given by Gregory Nyssen: "Adam, his son, and Eve," he says, "were types of the trinity; Adam of the Father, who was without cause, or unbegotten; his son of Christ, who was begotten; and Eve, who issued from Adam, of the

\* Spiritus enim sanctus Deus, sicut dei filius Deus, et pater Deus. Ter dixi Deus, sed non dixi tres Deos, magis enim Deus ter quam dii tres. Expositiones in John, Tr. 6. Opera, vol. 9. p. 49.—Something seems to be omitted after *magis* (*more*), perhaps he meant *more safe*, or *more pious*. Had he attended to his arithmetic, he would have found, that there is no difference between *three times one* and *three*.

" Holy

“ Holy Spirit, who was not begotten, but  
 “ proceeded. For this reason,” he says, “ God  
 “ did not breathe into her the breath of life,  
 “ because she was to be a type of the Holy  
 “ Spirit \*.”

He adds, “ If this was not intended to be  
 “ a type of the trinity, why were not three  
 “ or four progenitors made, each having  
 “ their several properties? Whereas here  
 “ being an *unbegotten*, a *begotten*, and one  
 “ that *proceeded*, they make an exact type of  
 “ the trinity †.”

Similar to the illustrations of the trinity  
 from the sub-divisions of the mind of man,

\* Τὸ μὲν ἀναίτιον καὶ ἀγεννητὸν Ἀδάμ τύπον καὶ εἰκόνα ἐχόντος τοῦ ἀναίτιου καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν προτοκράτορος θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς· τοῦ δὲ γεννητοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα προδιαγραφόντος, τοῦ γεννητοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ· τῆς δὲ ἐκπορευτοῦς ἑκείνης σημαίνουσας τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκπορευτὴν ὑπόστασιν· διό καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν αὐτῇ ὁ θεὸς πνοὴν ζωῆς, διὰ τὸ τύπον αὐτὴν εἶναι τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πνοῆς καὶ ζωῆς, καὶ διὰ τὸ μέλλειν αὐτὴν διὰ ἁγίου πνεύματος δεῖξασθαι θεὸν τὸν οὕτως ὄντα πάντων πνοὴν καὶ ζωὴν. In Gen. i.

26. Opera, vol. i. p. 856.

† Εἰ δὲ μὴ εἴη μὴδὲ κατὰ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα, τί δηποῦν μὴ τεσσαρες, καὶ δύο, καὶ πλείονες ὑποστάσεις τῶν προπατέρων γεγενῆσιν, παρηλαγμένας ἐχῆσαι τὰς ὑποστάσεις αὐτῶν ἰδιοτήτας; λέγω δὲ τὸ ἀγεννητὸν καὶ τὸ γεννητὸν, καὶ τὸ ἐκπορευτὸν, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς καὶ μονάς, καὶ ἔχεις κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ κατ' ὁμοίωσιν τὴν πνευματικὴν τριάδα, ἐν μονάδι ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν, ἀκαλῶδον σε λοιπὸν μαθεῖν καὶ μονάδα ἐν τριάδι. Ibid.



are those more ancient ones of the fountain, the river, and a draught of water; and that of the root, the stock, and the branch, which are adopted with variations by Austin. But these all represent *parts of one whole*, or rather they are things that agree in one common property; and in this very circumstance it is, that Austin makes the resemblance to consist; for, concerning the former he says, "they are all water," and concerning the latter, "they are all wood \*."

After such a trinity as this, can we wonder that some should be acknowledged by their friends to carry their orthodoxy into absolute *tritheim*. "There are three dis-  
"orders," says Gregory Nazianzen, "with  
"respect to theology with us; one of  
"Atheism, another Judaism, and a third  
"tritheim. Of the latter," he says, "those  
"are guilty who are too orthodox among

\* Cum illa regula nominis maneat, utradix lignum sit, et robur lignum, et rami lignum, non tūm tria ligna dicantur, sed unum.—Illud certe omnes concedunt si ex fonte tria pocula impleantur posse dici tria pocula, tres autem aquas non posse dici, sed omnino unam aquam. De Fid. Opera, vol. 3. p. 146.

“us\*.” Or can any person be surprized at the rise of a sect of tritheists, of whom we have an account in ecclesiastical history†.

After the exhibition of so many wretched explications and illustrations of the trinity, one cannot help approving the wisdom of those Fathers who were occasionally sensible of their imperfection, and therefore acquiesced in the doctrine, as expressed in the usual phraseology, without pretending to understand it at all. Thus a writer, whose work has been ascribed to Athanasius, says, “the trinity is an inexplicable mystery,” not to be enquired into‡. Basil also says, that “the mysteries of theology require to be assented to, without previous reasoning§.” “Let no one,” says Gregory Nyssen, “insult us, because we are not able to produce from all na-

\* Τριων γαρ οντων των νυν περι την θεολογiam αρρωστηματων Αθειας η Ιεδαισμος η πολυθειας.—Της δε τινες των αγαν παρ ημιν ορθοδοξων. Or. 1. Opera, p. 16.

† See Nicephori Hist. lib. 18. cap. 16. vol. 2. p. 872.

‡ Αρρητον η ανεκφραστον το της αγιας τριαδος υπαρχει μυστηριον. Opera, vol. 2. p. 232.

§ Ουτω δη εν ης το της θεολογιας μυστηριον, την εκ της αβυσσους πεισως επιζηλει συγκαταδεναι, In Pl. 115. Opera, vol. 1. p. 270.



"ture a perfect image of the trinity\*." Cassian says, "it is God's part to know, ours to believe†." And Julianus Pomerius, Archbishop of Toledo, says, "that all the labour of human disputation is to be set aside, where faith alone is sufficient‡."

This being the case, it certainly would have been much wiser in these writers not to have attempted to explain what, in its own nature, was incapable of being explained; as all their attempts could only tend to expose it, and them, to ridicule. It was alledged, however, that though the doctrine of the trinity be mysterious and incomprehensible, there are likewise many things inexplicable to us in nature. In answer to those who objected to the mystery of the trinity, Gregory Nazianzen says,

\* Μηδεις δε επηρεαζέτω τω λογω μη δυναμενω τοιαυτην εν τοις υσιν ευρειν εικονα τε ζητημενη, η δια παλιν αρχεσει δι' αναλογιας τινος κ' ομοιοητος προς την τε προκειμενη παραστασιν. *Contra Eunomium*, Or. 7. Opera, vol. 2. p. 206.

† Nostrum namque est credere illius nosse. *De Incarnatione*, lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 970.

‡ Postponenda enim est omnis humanæ disputationis industria, ubi fides sufficiet sola. *Contra Judæos*, lib. 2. Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 223.

there

there are mysteries in all nature, and in the mind of man. "If," says he, "you who enquire concerning these things do not understand yourself, if you do not understand those things which you can examine with your senses, how can you understand God, what and how great he is? This is great folly\*."

The authority of the church was also had recourse to, as an argument to enforce the reception of what could not be proved or explained. "Some tenets in the church," says Basil, "we receive as preserved in writing, but some are of apostolical tradition, handed down as *mysteries*, both of which have the same force with respect to piety, and no one will question them, who is at all acquainted with the laws of the church†."

\* Εἰ θαυλον ἐκ ἐγνων, ὅς τις εἶ, ὁ περὶ τῶν διαλεγόμενων εἰ ταῦτα καὶ λαβεῖς, ὧν καὶ ἡ αἰσθησις μαρτυρεῖ, πως θεὸν ἀκριβῶς, ὅπερ τε καὶ ὅσον εἶναι, εἶδεναι ὑπολαμβάνεις; πολλῆς τῆς ἀλογίας. Or. 29. Opera. p. 493.

† Τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογματικῶν καὶ κερυγματικῶν, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγραφῆς διδασκαλικῆς ἐχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, διαδοθῆναι ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παραδεξαμένα· ἀπερ ἀμφοτέρῃ τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσεβείαν· καὶ τοῖς ἑδὲ ἀνέρει ὅς τις



Austin pleaded for implicit faith by the authority of the prophet Isaiah. "It was "therefore," he says, "rationally said by "the prophet (chap. vi.) unless ye believe, "ye will not understand; where he doubt- "less distinguishes these two things, and "advises that we first believe that we may "be able to understand what we believe; "so that it seems reasonable that faith "should precede reason\*."

The Fathers having meditated so much on the number *three*, it is no wonder that they should have got a kind of fondness for it, and have thought that there was something very wonderful in it. Epiphanius has taken pains to collect all the instances of this sacred number from the scriptures, and he makes above one hundred of them†.

γε καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν γὰρ θεσμῶν εἰσθησιαστικῶν πειραζοῦ. De Sp. S. cap. 27. Opera, vol. 2. p. 351.

\* Et ideo rationabiliter dictum est per prophetam : nisi credideritis, non intelligetis. Ubi proculdubio discrevit hæc duo, deditque consilium quo prius credamus, ut id quod credimus intelligere valeamus, Proinde ut fides precedat rationem, rationabiliter visum est. Epist. 222. Opera, vol. 2. p. 859.

† De Nummorum Mysteriis, Opera, vol. 2. p. 304.

Austin

Austin having mentioned twelve attributes of God, reduces them all to three, viz. *eternity, wisdom, and happiness*. "These three," he says, "are a trinity, which we call God; and, perhaps, in the same manner in which we reduce the twelve attributes to these three, the three may be reduced into any one of them. For if, in the divine nature, wisdom and power be the same thing, or life and wisdom, why may not eternity and wisdom, or happiness and wisdom, be the same thing\*." I need not repeat upon this occasion, what I have before observed concerning the metaphysics of the ancients; and those of the philosophers were no better than those of the Fathers.

† Nunc igitur cum dicimus, æternus, sapiens, beatus, hæc tria sunt trinitas, quæ appellatur Deus: redegimus quidem illa duodecim in istam paucitatem trium, sed eo modo forsitan possumus et hæc tria in unum aliquod horum. Nam si una eademque res in Dei natura potest esse sapientia et potentia, aut vita et sapientia, cur non una eademque res esse possit in Dei natura, æternitas et sapientia, aut beatitudo et sapientia. De Trinitate, lib. 15. cap. 6. Opera, vol. 3. p. 446.



Austin, after considering the properties of the number *three*, seems to have thought that of itself it afforded a proof of the doctrine of the trinity\*.

Even the number *six* was thought deserving of some particular notice, because it was the double of the sacred number *three*. Epiphanius says, the number *six* is also sacred, because it is *twice three*†; and Austin treats of the perfection of the number *six*‡. “*One, two, and three,*” he says, “make *six*; and, on account of the “perfection of this number, God made all “things in six days. Wherefore the three “parts of this number *six* demonstrate to “us that God, the trinity, made all things “in the trinity of *number, measure, and “weight*§.”

\* Divisio trium in ter unum est. Quid autem aliud hic numerus ostendit; nisi trinitatem, quæ Deus est. Vol. 4. p. 68.

† Opera, vol. 2. p. 307.

‡ De Civitate Dei, lib. 15. cap. 30.

§ Unum, et duo, et tria, sex faciunt. . Ideoque propter hujus numeri perfectionem sex diebus operatus est omnem creaturam. Tres ergo hæ partes senarii numeri demonstrant

But, perhaps, the most curious circumstance relating to the number *three*, that the reading of these Fathers can furnish, is the following, which was thought worthy of being recorded by Austin. "One Father Valerius," he says, "thought that "it was particularly ordered by Providence, "that the word *salus*," which signifies *health*, or *salvation*, in Latin, "in the language of the Carthaginians" (which was of Phœnician origin) "should signify *three*, "or the mystery of the trinity\*." In Hebrew, *שלוש* is *three*, which is one proof, among many others, of the derivation of the Carthaginians from the Phœnicians.

strant nobis trinitatem Deum, in trinitate numeri mensuræ et ponderis, fecisse omnem creaturam. *Questiones*, 65. *Opera*, vol. 4. p. 684.

\* Quod pater Valerius animadvertit admiras. In quorundam rusticanorum colloctione cum alter alteri dixisset *salus*, quæsit ab eo qui et Latine nosset et punice, quid esset *salus*: responsum est, *tria*. tum ille agnoscens cum gaudio salutem nostram esse trinitatem, convenientiam linguarum non fortuitu sic sonuisse arbitratus est, sed occultissima dispensatione divinæ providentiæ: ut cum Latine nominant *salus*, a punicis intelligant, *tria*: et cum punici lingua sua *tria* nominant, Latine intelligant, *salus*. *Ad. Rom. Opera*, vol. 4. p. 1181.



## CHAPTER XI.

*Of the Arguments by which the Doctrine of the Trinity was defended.*

## SECTION I.

*Arguments from the Old Testament.*

HAVING given a view of the doctrine of the trinity in all its variations, with the several *illustrations* of it, I shall now proceed to shew in what manner it was *defended* by its ancient advocates; and it is easy to imagine that all their arguments must be drawn from the *scriptures*, as it was always acknowledged that *nature* teaches no such doctrine, though it had been imagined that it was capable of being illustrated by some natural objects. These arguments from scripture I shall arrange according to the order of the books from which they are drawn.

It will be thought extraordinary, that the very first verse in the book of Genesis, which

which asserts the creation of all things by one God, should, notwithstanding this, have been imagined to teach the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. But it arose from this circumstance. Among other synonyms of the divine *nous*, or *logos*, *αρχη* (*principle*) as has been observed, was one; being taken from one of the Platonic principles of things; and this having being interpreted to signify *Christ*, wherever that word is used in the Greek translation of the Old Testament, several of the Fathers thought that they had a right to suppose that Christ was intended. Since, therefore, Moses says that *in the beginning* (*εν αρχη*) *God created the heaven and the earth*, they thought it was the same as if it had been said, that God, *in Christ*, or *by Christ*, made the heavens and the earth. Theophilus says, that *in the αρχη* means *by the αρχη*, i. e. as an instrument\*.

“In the *principium*, that is, *in Christ*,” says Ambrose, “God made the heaven and the

\* *Εν αρχη εποικισεν ο θεος τον υρανον, τελεσι δια της αρχης γεγεννησθαι τον υρανον.* Ad. Autolycum, lib. 2. p. 97.

“earth.”



“earth\*.” “What *principium*,” says Austin, “can we understand but the Son, “for he himself answered the Jews, who “questioned him concerning himself, the “*principium* who speaks to you†.” We render that passage, *the same that I said unto you from the beginning.*

As a proof that Moses was not ignorant that the world was made by the living and substantial word of God, Cyril of Alexandria alledges God’s saying, *Let there be light, and there was light, &c.†*

\* In hoc ergo principio, id est in Christo, fecit Deus cælum et terram. Hexameron, lib. i. Opera, vol. i. p. 6.

† Quid aut principium intelligendum putabimus, nisi filium? Ipse enim de se ipso interrogantibus Judæis quis esset, respondit: principium qui et loquor vobis. 65. Quest. Opera, vol. 4. p. 675. 682.

‡ Ενα γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν φύσει τε καὶ ἀληθῶς διακηρυττεῖ θεόν, καὶ ἡγορητῶς τὸν διὰ τὰ πάντα παρρησιαίως πρὸς γενέσιν, τὸν ζῶντα τε φημι καὶ εὐνοποῦντα λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἐν θεῷ τε καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ζωοποιόν, τὸ δι’ υἱοῦ, τῇ κτίσει πεμπόμενον. εἶπε γὰρ ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, κεφαλαιωδέστερον δὲ, καὶ ὡς ἐν βραχείᾳ τῷ λόγῳ γενεσιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων ἀποφθνας αὐτὸν ἐπεξεργαζέσθαι τὸ διήγημα, καὶ δεδειχέν ὅτι διὰ ζωντος λόγου τε κρείνντος πάντων θεῶν, παρηχθῆ πρὸς ὑπαρξίν τα ἐκ οὐκ ὄντα ποιεῖ, ζωογονεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐν πνεύματι. εἶπε φησὶν ὁ θεός, γενήτω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς, γενήτω σπέρμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος,

This passage, one would rather think, was a proof that the world was made not by a *substantial* or *personified word*, but by the *simple word*, or mere *power* of God. But in the age of Cyril, the term *word*, or whatever implied *word*, suggested the idea of the living and substantial logos.

Tertullian expresses his dislike of this interpretation, and says that *principium* in in this place, is synonymous to *initium*, *beginning* \*. Jerom also shews the same good sense upon this occasion, saying that “ac-  
“ cording to both the Greek and the He-  
“ brew, it ought to be rendered *in the be-  
“ ginning* †.”

τοῦ, καὶ ἐγένετο ἄρχη. Contra Julianum, lib. 1. Juliani, Op. vol. 2. p. 21.

\* Ita principium, sive initium, inceptionis esse verbum non alicujus substantiæ nomen. Nam et ipsum principium, in quo Deus fecit cœlum et terram, aliquid volunt fuisse quasi substantivum et corpulentum, quod in materiam interpretari possit. Adv. Hermogenem, S. 19. p. 240.

† In principio fecit Deus cœlum et terram plerique existimant, sicut in altercatione quoque Jasonis et papisci scriptum est et Tertullianus in lib: contra Praxeam disputat, nec non Hilarius in expositione cujusdam psalmi affirmat, in Hebræo haberi: in filio fecit Deus cœlum et terram: quod falsum esse, ipsius rei veritas comprobatur, nam et septuaginta interpretes et Symmachus, et Theodotion,



I shall in this place, point out some other arguments of the Fathers in favour of the divinity of Christ, from their supposing him to be intended by the word *αρχη* in the scriptures. Origen proves that the Son is *αρχη*, from Rev. xxii. 13. though at the same time he says he cannot be *αρχη* in all respects\*. “That the Son is the *αρχη* may be clearly proved,” it is said in the extracts of Clemens Alexandrinus, “from Hosea i. 10†.”

These interpretations will surprize us the less, if we consider how familiar it was with the Fathers to consider *αρχη* as synonymous to *logos*, which they always understood of Christ. Thus Clemens Alexandrinus

dotion. in principio transfulerunt: et in Hebræo scriptum est, beresith בראשית: Questiones in Genesim, Op. vol. 1. p. 853.

\* Εγω ειμι αρχη και το τελος, το α και το ω, ο πρωτος και ο εσχατος. αναγκαιον δε ειδεναι οτι & κατὰ παν ο ονομαζεται αρχη εστιν αυτος. πως γαρ καδ' ο ζων εστι δυναται ειναι αρχη; In Johan. Comment vol. 2. p. 19.

† Οτι δε αρχη ο υιος, ωσπερ διδασκει σαφως. & εσαι, εκ τω τοπω & ερρηθη αυτοις, & λαος με υμεις, κληθησονται & αυτοι υιοι θεου ζωντος. & νυν αχθησονται οι υιοι Ισραελ επι το αυτο, & θησονται εαυτοις αρχημιν, & αναβησονται εκ της γης. Combefis Auctuarium, vol. 1. p. 197.

says

says, that “ the Son is the *αρχη* and *απαρχη* of  
 “ all things, of whom we must learn the  
 “ cause, the Father of all, the most ancient,  
 “ and the benefactor of all \*.” In another  
 passage he calls Christ the *αρχη*; saying,  
 “ because the *logos* was from above, he is  
 “ and was the divine *αρχη* of all things.  
 “ This *logos*, the Christ, was the original  
 “ author of our being; for he was in God,  
 “ and of our well being. This *logos* has  
 “ now appeared to men, he alone being both  
 “ God and man, the author of all good to  
 “ us †.”

Theophilus also speaks of the *logos*, as  
 “ having been in God, as the *αρχη*, the Spirit  
 “ of God, who spake by the prophets.

\* Το πρεσβύτερον· εν γενεσει, την αχρονον η̅ αναρχον αρχην τε  
 η̅ απαρχην των ο̅λων, τον υιον, παρ̅ ε̅ εκμανθανειν επεκειναι  
 αι̅λιον, τον πα̅τερ̅α των ο̅λων, το πρεσβυσιον η̅ πα̅σι̅ων ευ̅εργετικω̅λλον.  
 Strom. 7. p. 700.

† Αλλ̅ οτι μεν ην ο λογος αν̅ωθεν, αρχη̅ θ̅εια των πα̅σι̅ων ην τε η̅  
 ε̅στιν. ρ̅η̅ δε νυν ονομα ελαβεν, το πα̅λαι̅ κα̅θ̅ω̅σι̅ω̅με̅νον, δυναμ̅ει̅ως̅ αξ̅ιον  
 χ̅ρισ̅τος, και̅νον̅ ασ̅μα̅ μο̅ι̅ κεκλ̅η̅ται. ε̅λος̅ γ̅εν̅ ο̅ λογος̅ ο̅ χ̅ρισ̅τος, η̅ τε̅  
 ε̅ιναι̅ πα̅λαι̅ η̅μ̅ας· ην γαρ̅ εν̅ θε̅ω· η̅ τε̅ ευ̅ ε̅ιναι̅. νυν̅ δη̅ επ̅ε̅φ̅α̅νη̅ αν̅-  
 θ̅ρω̅ποι̅ς̅ αι̅λιος̅ ε̅λος̅ λογος̅, ο̅ μονος̅ αμ̅φ̅ω̅, θε̅ος̅ τε̅ η̅ αν̅θ̅ρω̅πος̅, απ̅̅αι̅λι̅ων̅  
 η̅μ̅ιν̅ αι̅λιος̅ αγα̅θ̅ων̅. παρ̅ ε̅ το̅ ευ̅ ζ̅ην̅ εκ̅δι̅δα̅σκ̅ο̅με̅νοι, ει̅ς̅ αι̅δι̅ον̅ ζω̅ην̅  
 πα̅ρα̅πε̅μ̅πο̅με̅θα. Ad. Gentes, Opera, p. 5.



“ God, therefore, having his own logos in  
 “ his own bowels, generated him with his  
 “ wisdom, throwing him out before all  
 “ things. This logos, generated by him-  
 “ self, he used as his assistant, and by him  
 “ made all things. He is called the *αρχη*,  
 “ because he rules and governs all things  
 “ that are made by him. He, therefore,  
 “ being the Spirit of God\*, and the *αρχη*,  
 “ and wisdom, and supreme power, went  
 “ into the prophets, and by them spake  
 “ concerning the maker of the world, and  
 “ all things. For there were no prophets  
 “ when the world was made, but the wis-  
 “ dom of God, which was in him, and the  
 “ holy logos, which is always with him†.”

\* It is observable, that Theophilus makes *the logos* to be  
 the same with *the Spirit*, *πνευμα*. Eusebius also says, that  
*λογος* and *πνευμα* have no difference with respect to God.  
 It is, indeed, impossible that they should have conceived  
 any difference between them, and yet this circumstance  
 throws great confusion into the orthodox system.

† Εχων εν ο θεος τον εαυτου λογον ενδιαθειον εν τοις ιδιοις σπλανχνοις,  
 εγεννησεν αυτον μελα της εαυτου σοφιας εξερευξαμεν<sup>θ</sup> προ των ολων. τειλον  
 τον λογον εσχεν υπεργον των υπ αυτη γεγεννημενων, κ<sup>ι</sup> δι αυτη τα παντα  
 πεποινηεν. εως λεγεται αρχη, οτι αρχει κ<sup>ι</sup> κυριευει παντων των δι αυτη  
 δεδημιουργημενων. εως εν ων πνευμα θες, κ<sup>ι</sup> αρχη κ<sup>ι</sup> σοφια, κ<sup>ι</sup> δυναμις  
 εις της προφητας, κ<sup>ι</sup> δι αυτων ελαλει τα περι της ποιη-

σεως

However, the term *αρχη* was not so appropriated to Christ, but that it was common to all the three great *principles of things*, and of course belonged to the Father, even with respect to Christ; and therefore Cyril of Alexandria, after observing that the Father is “an eternal principle to the Son,” says, that “by *αρχη* in the introduction to the “gospel of John, the blessed evangelist “seems to signify the Father\*.”

That there was some kind of superiority in the Father in consequence of his being the original (*αρχη*) or *cause* (*αἰτιος*) was always acknowledged by the most orthodox. This is expressly asserted by Gregory Nazianzen, at the same time that he says, the Son is equal to the Father as to his *nature*. On this principle, he supposes that Christ meant to say that the Father was greater than he. “That God,” he says, “should be greater

θεὸς τὸ κοσμὸν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπαιτιῶν. ἔγὰρ ἦσαν οἱ προφῆται οἷοι ὁ κοσμὸς ἐγένετο. ἀλλὰ ἡ σοφία ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔστα ἡ τὰ θεῶν, καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ ἀγιοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁ αἰεὶ συμπαρόν αὐτῷ. διὸ δὴ καὶ διὰ Σολομῶνος προφήτου εἰπὼ λέγει. Lib. 2. p. 82.

\* Ita æternum ei principium pater est.—Videtur igitur principii hic nomine, beatus evangelista patrem significare. In John. cap. 1. Opera, vol. 1. p. 600.

“than



“than man, is true indeed, but no great matter. For what is there extraordinary in God being greater than a man\*.”

I now proceed to recite other arguments in support of the trinitarian doctrine, in the order of the books of scripture from which they are derived. Theophilus says, that the three days which preceded the “light,” (meaning the creation of the sun) &c. “are types of the trinity, of God, his “logos, and his wisdom. The fourth,” he says, “is the type of man, who wanted “light, that there might be God, logos, “wisdom, man; wherefore on the fourth “day lights were produced†.”

The plural number, in which God is represented as speaking, was soon laid hold of as a proof of the plurality of persons in the trinity. Tertullian says, “Does this

\* Διόνον οἱ το μείζον μιν ἐστὶ τῆς αἰτίας, το δὲ ἴσον τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τῶν ὑπο πολλῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης ὁμολογούμεν ἡμεῖς.—Τὸ γὰρ δὴ λέγειν, οἱ τὴ καὶ το ἀνθρώπου νοούμεν μείζον, ἀληθεῖς μιν, εἰ μὲν δὲ· τι γὰρ θαυμάζον, εἰ μείζον ἀνθρώπου θεός. Or. 36. p. 582.

† Ωσαύτως καὶ αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι τῶν φωστῆρων γεγονοναί, τυποὶ εἰσὶν τῆς τριάδος, τὴ θεός, καὶ τὴ λογὴ αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτῆς. τέλει δὲ τύπος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου ὁ προσδεδὴς τὴ φῶς, ἵνα ἡ θεός, λόγος, σοφία, ἀνθρώπος. διὰ τῶν καὶ τῇ τέλει ἡμέρᾳ ἐγεννηθῶσαν φωστῆρες, Lib. 2. p. 106.

“ number

“number of trinity scandalize you, as if  
 “they were not connected in simple unity?  
 “I ask, how could one person only speak  
 “in the plural number, and say, *let us*  
 “make man in our likeness \*.” To this  
 argument Austin adds, “Had not the three  
 “persons been one, it would have been  
 “said, Let us make man in our images, not  
 “in our image †.” Basil of Sileucia has  
 the same thought ‡.

Michael Glycas, with great ingenuity,  
 discovers that all the three persons were  
 employed in the creation of man. “Who,”  
 says he, “said, Let us make man? The  
 “father. Who took the dust of the

\* Si te adhuc numerus scandalizat trinitatis, quasi non  
 connexæ in unitate simplici, interrogo quomodo unicus et  
 singularis pluraliter loquitur? Faciamus hominem ad ima-  
 ginem et similitudinem nostram. Ad Praxeam, sect. 12.  
 p. 506.

† Si vero in illis tribus personis tres essent intelligentiæ  
 vel credentiæ substantiæ, non diceretur ad imaginem nos-  
 trum, sed ad imagines nostras. De Fide, Ad Pel. cap. 1.  
 Opera, vol. 3. p. 211.

‡ Τριὰς μὲν εἰς ἓν ἐκείνην, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς τριὰς  
 ὑπαρχούσας. ἐν δὲ μὲν τῇ τριὰδι ἡ εἰς ἓν, καὶ τὸν ἑνὸς  
 φωνῇ. τοῦ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ ἑνὶ ἀποστολῇ. Or. 1.  
 Opera, p. 3.



“ground for that purpose? The Son. And  
 “who breathed into him the breath of life?  
 “The Holy Spirit\*.”

Austin's veneration for the number *six* was mentioned before. He considered the creation of the world in *six* days as a proof of the trinity; for *six*, says he, is *twice three* †. This will be thought sufficiently far fetched; but what then shall we say to Cyril of Alexandria, who found a representation of the trinity in the dimensions of the ark of Noah ‡.

\* Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς . ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον . καὶ λαβὼν ὁ Θεὸς χυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐπλάσεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον . εἰς ὃ εἰπὼν ; ὁ πατήρ . καὶ τις ὁ λαβὼν ; ὁ υἱός . πᾶ ἔνν μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀλλόθριον φανήσῃ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργίας . τῇ ἐνεφύσησεν . λέξιν καὶ πᾶν δαυμάτως παρειλήφεν .  
 Annales, pars 1. p. 69.

† Quest. 65. Opera, vol. 4. p. 684.

‡ Aspice ergo quæso, quemadmodum in trecentis cubitis, quod arcæ longitudinem esse assignavimus, perfectio sanctæ trinitatis consecratur. Quod autem, ut formula dixerim, deitas, quæ in unitate perspicitur, perfectio sit perfectionum ex latitudine arcæ, quæ ad quinquaginta se cubitos extendit, latissime patet. Quinquagenarius etenim numerus, septem septies diebus, unitate quoque conjuncta, conficitur. Quia unam quidem deitatis naturam esse adserimus. Altitudo etiam ipsius arcæ nil aliud profecto, quam mentem ipsam mirifice nobis suggerit. In decimum enim

That it was Christ who spake to the Patriarchs, was agreed by all the Fathers from the time of Justin Martyr; and the proof of it lay in this circumstance, that the person who *appeared* is called God; but since the supreme God is *invisible*, there must have been another person intitled to that appellation; as we have seen in the extracts from Justin himself. I shall in this place add some passages to this purpose from other writers.

Tertullian, having observed that God the Father is invisible, and yet that God was in some sense visible to the patriarchs, infers that it must have been the Son who appeared to them. "He must, therefore," he says, "be another person who was seen. For he who was seen cannot be invisible. It therefore follows, that we suppose the Father to be invisible on account of the plenitude of his majesty, but the Son to

enim tertium cubitorum numerum perficitur. Triginta enim cubitorum, inquit, altitudinem ejus facies: et in cubitum unum consummabis eam. Sancta enim trinitas in tres hypostases triumque personarum differentias quum extendatur, in unam deitatis naturam quodammodo contrahitur. In Gen. 3. Opera, vol. 1. p. 17.



“ be visible, as being derived from him.  
 “ As though we cannot see the sun him-  
 “ self, we can bear his beams, as a tem-  
 “ pered portion of him, extending to the  
 “ earth \* ”

“ Moses,” says Novatian, “ every where  
 “ introduces God the Father as immense,  
 “ and without end, not confined to place,  
 “ but including all space, not one who is  
 “ in place, but rather in whom all place is,  
 “ comprehending and embracing all things;  
 “ so that he can neither ascend nor descend.  
 “ For he contains and fills all things; and  
 “ yet he introduces a God descending to  
 “ the tower which the sons of men built †.”

\* Jam ergo alius erit qui videbatur, quia non potest idem invisibilis definiri, qui videbatur, et consequens erit, ut invisibilem patrem intelligamus, pro plenitudine majestatis; visibilem vero filium agnoscamus, pro modulo derivationis: sicut nec solem nobis contemplari licet, quantum ad ipsam substantiæ summam quæ est in cœlis; radium autem ejus toleramus oculis pro temperatura portionis quæ in terram inde porrigitur. Ad Praxeam, sect. 14. p. 508.

† Quid si idem Moyse ubique introducit deum patrem immensum atque sine fine, non qui loco cludatur, sed qui omnem locum cludat: nec eum qui in loco sit, sed potius in quo omnis locus sit: omnia continentem et cuncta complexum, ut merito nec descendat nec ascendat, quoniam  
 ipse

Austin supposed, that the three men who appeared to Abraham either were, or represented the trinity. "The two who went to Sodom must," he says, "have been the Son and the Spirit, because they are said to have been *sent*, which the Father is never said to be \*." As it might be objected that the Father could not become visible, he says, "Why may not the Father be understood to have appeared to Abraham and Moses, and to whom he pleased, and as he pleased, by means of a changeable and visible creature, when he in himself remained invisible and unchangeable †."

ipse omnia et continet et implet; et tamen nihilominus introducit Deum descendentem ad turrim, quam edificabant filii hominum. Cap. 17. p. 62.

\* Sed quas duas personas hic intelligimus, an patris et filii, an patris et spiritus sancti, an filii et spiritus sancti. Hoc forte congruentius quod ultimum dixi; missos enim se dixerunt, quod de filio et spiritu sancto dicimus. Nam patrem missum nusquam scriptura nobis notitia occurrit. De Trinitate, lib. 2. cap. 10. Opera, vol. 3. p. 272.

† Si ergo Deus pater locutus est ad primum hominem. Cur non jam ipse intelligatur apparuisse Abraham et Moyse et quibus voluit, et quemadmodum voluit per subjectam sibi commutabilem atque visibilem creaturam, cum ipse in seipso atque in substantia sua qua est, incommutabilis atque invisibilis maneat. Ibid. p. 269.



He says, with respect to all these appearances, "they may either be those of  
"the whole trinity, which is God, or of  
"each of the persons, according to the  
"circumstances \*."

Glycas says, that the trinity was received by Abraham, and chearfully partook of the entertainment provided for them †. He adds, that, according to the opinion of Cyril, it was the Father that remained with Abraham, because he judges no man; and that they were the Son and Spirit that were

\* Jam enim quæsitum atque tractatum est, in illis antiquis corporalibus formis et visis non tantummodo patrem, nec tantummodo filium, nec tantummodo spiritum sanctum apparuisse, sed autem indifferenter dominum deum qui trinitas ipsa intelligitur, aut quamlibet ex trinitate personam, quam lectionis textus indicibus circumstantibus significaret. De Trinitate, lib. 3. cap. 1. vol. 3. p. 281.

† Και ποσειδον απλως φιλοξενος ην, ως κ' αυτη την αγιαν τριαδα καλεσθαι επι της σκεπης αυτης, κ' των παρακλητων αυτης περιχαρως εμφορηθηναι. Δυο δε τοις Σοδομοις επεφοιτησαν. υδε γαρ ο πατηρ κρηνη ζδυνα. πασαν δε την κρισιν δεδωκε τω υιω, καια την φωνην αυτης τε κυριε συνουλιος φυσικως, κ' τε αγια πνευμαλιος. Οτι δε ο υιος κ' το πνευμα επι Σοδομα επορευοντο, κ' η του Αβρααμ ξενα Καφω παριστα, καδαπερ ο μεγας φησιν Αθανασιος. ει μη γαρ ο υιος κ' το πνευμα ησαν, εν αν τω θεω κ' πατρι συνεκαδητο. οτι δε συνεκαδητο, δηλον εκ της περι τελων, ελω λεγειν. Annales, pars 2. p. 132.

sent

sent to Sodom, was the opinion of the great Athanasius, because no others could have been assessors with him.

Justin Martyr imagined, that Christ was signified by the serpent in the wilderness; and even thought that Plato had got a hint of the same thing from the scriptures, but did not rightly understand it \*."

Chrysostom finds a proof of the trinity in the blessing pronounced by Moses: *The Lord bless thee and keep thee, the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon thee and bless thee; the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.*—

"Here," says he, "is the holy trinity clearly celebrated †." The foundation of this argument could only be, that God is mentioned three times in this form of benediction,"

\* Οὕτως παρεδωκεν ἀνάγινε Πλάτων, καὶ μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἐπισταμενΘ-, μὴδὲ νοήσας τυπὸν εἶναι ταύρα, ἀλλὰ χιασμῶς νοήσας, τὴν μέλα του πρώτου θεὸν δύναμιν κεχρισθῆναι ἐν το πᾶσι εἴπτε. Apol. 1. p. 87.

† Εὐλογησὶ σε κυριος, καὶ φυλάξει σε, ἐπιφανει κυριος το προσωπον αὐτῆς ἐπὶ σε καὶ εὐλογησὶ σε \* ἐπαρει κυριος το προσωπον αὐτῆς ἐπὶ σε, καὶ δῶη σοι εἰρήνην. Οὐα τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα διαρρηδὴν ἀνυμνεμένην. Ser. 5. Opera, vol. 6. p. 73.



Eusebius says, that "when Jacob is called the Lord's portion, Christ is intended \*."

If any one text be decisive in proof of there being only one God, it is that of Moses, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord*; and yet because the word Lord, or God, occurs three times in it, this also has been pressed into the service of the trinity. Austin, after repeating the text, says, "in this we are not to understand the Father only, but the Father, Son, and Spirit †."

I find no more arguments or illustrations of the doctrine of the trinity from the Old Testament, till we come to the book of

\* Τοῦτο μνησθῆναι το μνησθῆναι, πρώτης θεολογίας Μωσῆς ἐν ἀποστόλῃ Εβραῖς τὰς παλαιὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς λέγων, — οἷε διμερίζον ο ἡνθρώπος ἐδὴν — καὶ ἐγενήθη μέρος κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ — δια τούτων γὰρ ἡλίσσον μὲν τὸν ἀνὴρα, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι, θεὸν τὸν ὅλον ὀνομάζει. Κυρίου δὲ τὸν τῆς λέγον, τὸν δὲ καὶ δευτέρως ἡμῶν μετὰ τὸν ὅλον τὸν θεὸν κυριαλογούμενον. Demonst. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 156.

† Toto corde retine, patrem Deum, filium Deum, et spiritum sanctum Deum, id est sanctam atque ineffabilem trinitatem unum esse naturaliter Deum, de quo in Deuteronomio dicit: audi Israel Deus, Deus tuus, Deus unus est. Et, Deum, Deum tuum, adorabis, et illi soli servies. De Fide, ad Pat. Opera, vol. 3. p. 210.

Psalms ;

Psalms; but here I find a great number. Jerom says, that "the tree planted by the river of water, in the first psalm, is wisdom, and that wisdom is Christ \*." Ambrose says, that "Christ is the giant to run a race †."

Some of these interpretations may be supposed to be nothing more than an allegorizing of scripture, and a play of imagination; but when the Fathers argue from those texts in which the *logos* is mentioned, they were certainly very serious. The *logos* must be Christ. Thus Eusebius makes Christ to be the maker of the world, in Ps. xxxiii. 6.

\* Lignum autem, cui vir beatus comparatur, sapientiam puto; de qua et Salomon loquitur: Lignum vitæ est his qui sequuntur eam. Sapientia autem per apostolum Christus Dei filius declaratur. In Ps. i. Opera, vol. 7. p. 1.

† Christus est Dei filius, et sempiternus ex patre, et natus ex virgine. Quem quasi gigantem sanctus David propheta describit, eo quod biformis geminaque nature unus sit consors divinitatis et corporis, qui tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo, exultavit tanquam gigas ad currendam viam. In Ps. 19. De Incarnatione, cap. 5, Opera, vol. 4. p. 290.

By



By the word of the Lord were the heavens made\*.

On the same principle, Ps. xlv. 1. My heart is throwing out a good word *logos*, was, by almost all the Fathers, interpreted of the eternal Father generating the Son from himself. But there is an exception in Basil, who says, that "it refers to the prophet †."

Eusebius also was of opinion, that it was not the Father, in Ps. xlv. 1. who was speaking of his heart throwing out the *logos*, but that it was the prophetic person who was speaking, because what follows does not seem to agree to the Father ‡.

\* Και ο Δαβιδ δε που εν ψαλμωδιαις ειπεν προσειπεν την σοφian επομαδι, φησι. τω λογω κυρις οι κρανοι εγερεωθησαν, τον των απαντων δημιουργικον λογον δεε, ταιον ενεμφημησας τον τροπον. Preparatio. p. 320.

† Εξηρευσαιο η καρδια μου λογον αγαθον. ηδη μεν τινες ωκησαν εκ προσωπου τε πατρος λεγεσθαι ταυτα, περι τε εν αρχη ουτος προς αυτον λογον, ου εκ της οισνει καρδιας η αυλων των σπλαγχνων, φωνη, προφηγεια, η απο αγαθης καρδιας αγαθος λογος προηδεν. εμοι δε δονει ταυτα επι το προφητικον αναφερεσθαι προσωπον. In Ps. 44. Opera, vol. 1. p. 216.

‡ Εμοι δε δονει ταυτα επι το προφητικον αναφερεσθαι προσωπον. τα γαρ εφ εξης τερηις ημει ομοιως εξομαλιζει ημιν την περι τε πατρος εξηγησιν. Montfaucon's Collectio, vol. 1. p. 186.

In

In Ps. li. 10, 11. We read *Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy spirit from me.*

"In this," says Origen, "we have the Father, Son, and Spirit; the Father being *the principal spirit*" (as the first verse was rendered in Greek) "the Son the right spirit, and the Holy spirit being expressly mentioned in the last place\*."

Pope Gregory says, that "David taught the Doctrine of the trinity in Ps. lxxvii. *God be merciful to us, and bless us†.*" But this shadow of an argument can only be seen in the Latin translation, as given by himself, in which the name of God occurs three times.

\* Ο γυν Δαβιδ εν τω ψαλμω της εξομολογησεως περι τελων των πνευματων αιτει τον πατερα λεγων. πνευματι ηγεμονικω επιζητον με πνευμα ευδες εγκαινισον εν τοις εγκαιτοις μου, η το πνευμα το αγιον ος μη αυταναελης απο εμε, τινα τα τρια πνευματα ταυτα; το ηγεμονικον ο πατηρ, το ευδες ο χριστος, η το πνευμα το αγιον. In Jer. Hom. 8. Comment. vol. i. p. 95.

† David quippe ut authorem omnium Deum in trinitate ostenderet, dixit: benedicat nos Deus Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus. In Job, cap. 28. Opera, p. 174. B.

Austin



Austin proves that Christ wrought miracles before he was born of Mary, from Ps. cxxxvi. 4. "Who did them," says he, "but he of whom it is said, *who only doth great marvels* \*."

Eusebius, interpreting Ps. lvii. 3. *God sent forth his mercy and his truth*, says, "What can the *mercy* and the *truth* that is sent from God be, but the *logos* of God, concerning which it is said, *He sent forth his word and healed them, and delivered them out of their destructions*. The same is also called a *light*, and is said to be sent, in that psalm, in which it said *send forth thy light and thy truth, they shall guide me*. But the *light*, and the *truth*, and the *word*, sent from the most high God cannot want *essence* or *substance*; for a thing without substance cannot be sent. For our *logos*, consisting of syllables, and words, and names, and

† Miracula enim et nondum natus de Maria fecit. Quis enim unquam fecit, nisi ipse de quo dictum est, qui facit mirabilia magna solus? In Ps. xc. Opera, vol. 8. p. 999.

"pronounced

“ pronounced by the tongue, and the voice,  
 “ is not properly and truly *logos* \*.”

In his commentary on Ps. lxxxii. 1. he says,  
 “ Lest any one should be disturbed on ac-  
 “ count of the *monarchy*, hearing that the  
 “ Christ of God is called God, he pro-  
 “ bably afterwards makes mention of *many*  
 “ *Gods*, with censure, but exhorts not to  
 “ decline giving the title of God to the  
 “ Son of God. For if the princes of the  
 “ nation, who had bad characters, were  
 “ called gods, what danger can there be in  
 “ calling the man who is at the right hand  
 “ of God, and the Son of man who is  
 “ made strong, a God †.”

† Ελεος δε η αληθεια εξαποσελλομενη τις αν ειη, η ο τε δευ λογος  
 περι ε ελεγειο \* εξαπετειλε τον λογον αυτης, η ιασατο αυτες, η ερρυσατο  
 αυτες εκ των διαφορων αυτων \* ο δ' αυλος ομοιος η φως αποσελλομενη  
 ειρηται εν τω φασκοντι ψαλμω εξαποτειλον το φως σε η την αληθειαν  
 σε, αυτα με οδηγησει. φως δε η αληθεια η λογος αποσελλομενη  
 παρα τε υψιστε δευ, εκ ανωσια εδε ανηποστατα. — Ο γυν ημετερος  
 λογος ων, συλλαβαις η ρημασι η ονομασι την υποστασιν εχων, η δια  
 γλωττης η φωνης εξηχημενος, εκ αν λεχθειη κυριως η αληθως λογος.  
 Montfaucon's Collectio, vol. 1. p. 249.

\* Και οπως μη ταραχθειη τις εις τον περι μοναρχιας λογον, δεον  
 ακουων τον χριστον τε δευ, εικότως η πλειονας δευς ονομαζει τες δια  
 των εξης κατηγορευμενος, μονονεχι παρακελευομενος μη αποκτειν η τον  
 μιον τε δευ θεον αποκταειν. ει γαρ οι διασφαλλομενοι τε εδνης αρχοντες  
 θεοι



Eusebius finds Christ in Pf. cvii. 20. *He sent his word and healed them*\*; and in Pf. cxlvii. 15. *His word runneth very swiftly*†. Austin understood *the fountain of life*, Pf. xxxvi. 9. of the Father producing the Son who is light‡. All the Fathers understood Christ to be meant by *wisdom* in the book of Proverbs, and proved from it that he made the world ||.

There is a double reason why Christ should be intended by wisdom, Prov. viii. 22. *The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways*; because in the Seventy it is *the Lord created me the apex of his ways*. See this text quoted for this purpose, besides innumerable other places, in those cited in the margin§. The wisdom of which men-

ἑοὶ ἐξωδῆσαν ὀνομασθῆναι, ποίος αὖ γενοῖτο κινδυνὸς τὸν ἀνδρὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς τῆ θεᾶς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τῆς αὐθροπῆς τὸν κεκραταυμένον θεὸν ὁμολογεῖν. Monfaucon's Collectio Partrum vol. 1. p. 424.

\* Preparatio, p. 320.

† Ibid.

‡ De filii Divinitate, cap. 5. Opera, vol. 1. p. 281.

|| Euseb. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 7. Preparatio, p. 320.

§ Origenis Comment. in John. 2. vol. 1. p. 17. Euseb. Preparatio, lib. 7. cap. 12. p. 320. Ambrosii Hexameron, lib. 1. Opera, vol. 1. p. 6.

tion

tion is made in the book of Job, *Where is wisdom found, &c.* Job xxviii. 20. is applied to Christ by Eusebius\*.

It will make my reader smile to be informed that the *two garments*, which the good wife in the book of Proverbs, is said to have made for her husband, were thought by Ambrose to signify the divinity and humanity of Christ †.

Paulinus calls the trinity the *three-fold cord* that is not easily broken, in Eccles. iv. 12 ‡.

An argument for the divinity of Christ is brought by many of the Fathers from Is. ix. 6. where Christ is supposed to be called *the counsellor*, *the mighty God*. They always call him *the angel of the great council*, which is the version of the Seventy.

\* Préparatio, lib. 7. cap. 12. p. 320.

† Dicuntur vero binæ, quia Christum Deum et hominem confitetur. In Prov. xxxi. Opera, vol. 1. p. 1102.

‡ Astringamur autem huic arbore fune validissimo, vincti in spe, fide, charitate, credentes cordibus et oribus confitentes individuum trinitatem, quæ spartum triplex, quod non rumpitur. Ad. Severum, Epist. 4. p. 65.



Gregory Nyssen says, that Is. xlviii. *My hand has made all things*, means the Son\*. In Is. xlviii. 16. We read, *The Lord God, and his Spirit has sent me*. "This," says Theodoret, "plainly shows that there is "another person besides God, to confute "the Jews and Sabellians†." The *three holy's* in Is. vi. 3. are frequently mentioned as signifying the three persons in the trinity, as by Ambrose‡.

So much was it taken for granted that the *logos* was to be understood of *Christ*, that Origen says, "What is the word (*logos*) "that came from the Lord, whether to "Jeremiah, to Isaiah, to Ezekiel, or to any "other, but that which was in the be- "ginning with God. I know no other "word of the Lord, but that which the "evangelist spake of, when he said, In the "beginning was the word, and the word

\* Contra Eunomium 6. Opera, vol. 2. p. 191.

† Καὶ τὸν κύριος, κύριος ἀπέστειλε με, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ; —  
σαφές δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν ταύτῃ λέγον ἐδείξε σαφῶς τὸ θεοῦ πρόσωπον,  
εἰς ἐλεγχὸν καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ τῶν τὰ Σαβελλίαν νομοσίων.  
Opera, vol. 2. p. 111.

‡ De Fide lib. 2. cap. 4. Opera, vol. 4. p. 141.

“was with God, and the word was God\*.”

The word that came to Hosea, is also interpreted of Christ, by Jerom†.

Austin, after urging many arguments against Photinus, concludes with what he says is alone sufficient, if he be in his right mind, viz. this from Jer. xvii. 5. *Cursed is the man that trusteth in man‡.* But this is, perhaps rather applying a maxim, than urging a particular text, as referring originally to Christ.

Lastly, Cyprian says that, the “three hours of prayer observed by the three

\* Τις γὰρ εἶναι ὁ λόγος ὁ γενομένος παρὰ κυρίου, εἴτε πρὸς Ἱερεμίαν εἴτε πρὸς Ησαϊαν, εἴτε πρὸς Ἰεζεκιήλ, εἴτε πρὸς οὐδὲν ἄλλο; ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδα ἄλλον λόγον κυρίου, ἢ τὸν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁ εὐαγγελιστής, τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἢ ὁ λόγος, ἢ ὁ λόγος ἢ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἢ θεὸς ἢ ὁ λόγος.  
Comment. in Jer. vol. 1. p. 102.

† Opera, vol. 5. p. 35.

‡ Male dictum plane legis Photinus evadere non potest, quia spem suam habet in Christo, quem tantum hominem dicit, cum legat, maledictus homo qui spem habet in homine. Apostolus autem sciens Christum deum, ideo et in presenti et in futuro spem esse in eo ait. Quest. ex N. T. 91. Opera, vol. 4. p. 763.



“ who were strong in faith, and the three  
 “ out of the fire,” meaning those who  
 were cast into the fiery furnace in Daniel;  
 “ were emblems of the trinity\*.”

## SECTION II.

*Arguments for the Divinity of Christ from the  
 New Testament.*

WHEN the idea of the Divinity of  
 Christ was once formed from the prin-  
 ciples of Platonism, it was not difficult to  
 imagine that it was likewise the doctrine  
 of the scriptures; and that there were pas-  
 sages in the New Testament no less fa-  
 vourable to it, than those above recited  
 from the Old; though all the books were

\* In orationibus vero celebrandis invenimus observasse  
 cum Daniele tres pueros in fide fortes, et in captivitate vic-  
 tores; horam, sextam, nonam, sacramento scilicet trini-  
 tatis: quæ in novissimis temporibus manifestari habebat.  
 Nam et prima hora in tertiam veniens, consummatum nu-  
 merum trinitatis ostendit. Opera, p. 154.

in

in the hands of the common people, for whose use they were particularly calculated, and *they* saw no such doctrine in it.

The great argument for the divinity of Christ from the New Testament was, that “though Christ appeared to be a man by his infirmities, he appeared to be a god by his works,” as it is expressed by Novatian\*. And yet our Saviour himself always ascribes his miraculous works to his Father, and never to himself; and the people who saw those works were not led by them to suspect that he was any thing more than a man; for we only read, that when they were most struck with them, they wondered that God had given such power unto man. Eusebius likewise alledges the spread of the gospel, and its overturning heathenism, as a proof of the divinity of Christ. But by the same kind of argument he might have proved the divinity of Moses.

The two styles in which our Saviour speaks of himself were observed by Origen,

\* Ut homo ex infirmitatibus comprobetur; probatio divinitatis in illo collecta ex virtutibus illuc proficiet, ut etiam deus ex operibus adseratur. Cap. II. p. 33.



and were considered by him, as they are by the orthodox to this very day, as proofs, the one of his perfect humanity, and the others of his proper divinity. "Jesus," says he, "sometimes speaks as the first born of all the creation, as when he says,—*I am the way, the truth, and the life*; and sometimes as a man; as when he says, *you seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth* \*."

The author of a treatise ascribed to Athanasius, produces thirty arguments to prove that Christ cannot be a mere man; the chief of which are these: "He that was subject to death cannot take away death. No man has glory from eternity; but Christ had. Christ was sinless, but no man is so. The flesh of no man is from heaven, but the flesh of Christ is. A man actuated by God, is not God; but Christ is God †." A better reason than

\* Οἱ μὲν τινες εἰσὶ φωνάτε ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ πρῶτον πάντες κήσας, ὡς ἡ. Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς, καὶ ἡ ἀληθεία, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ, καὶ αὐτοῖς παραπλήσιαί· αἱ δὲ τὴ καὶ αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν ἀνθρώπῳ ὡς ἡ τε. Νυνὶ δὲ με ζητεῖτε ἀποκτεῖναι ἀνθρώπον ὅς τιν ἀληθεῖαν ὑμῖν λέλαληκα. Ad Celsum, lib. 2. p. 76.

† Οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῶν αἰῶνων ἔχει δόξαν. Χρῆστος δὲ ἔχει.—Ὁ ἐξ ἀμαρτίας ζωὴν, ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν τοῖν· καὶ ζωὴν

any of these is given by Auspin, who says, that "no man was ever greater than Solomon, but Christ was so\*." Ambrose gives a curious reason why the father of Jesus should be a carpenter: "It was," he says, "to signify, that Christ was the son of the maker of all things †"

Ὡς εἰ χριστός· ἔδειξεν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν. καὶ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ὁ χριστός.—Οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπου ἢ σαρκὸς ἐξ ὕψους λε-  
λέκται. χρίσθαι δὲ ἢ σαρκὸς ἐξ ὕψους εἰρηλαί. Ἀνθρώπος ὑπὸ  
θεοῦ ἐνέργημα, καὶ θεός, σῶμα δὲ συναφθέν θεῷ, θεός.  
Θεὸς δὲ ὁ χριστός.—Πᾶς ἀνθρώπος ὑπὸ θανάτου, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ θάνα-  
τον ὢν, καταργεῖ θάνατον. Opera, vol. 2. p. 248.

\* Salomoni cum sapientiam a Deo postulasset, responsum a domino est: Ecce dedi tibi, inquit cor sapiens et prudens, quale non fuit ante te, et post te non exurget vir similis tibi. Quid dicemus, verum est quod promissit Deus? Imo verum est. Nemo ergo hominum similis erit Salomoni. Et quid videbit de Christo, qui inter cætera, regina, inquit, austri venit ab ultimis terræ audire sapientiam Salomonis? et ecce plus Salomone hic. Nunc elige cui credas Photine, deo an Christo, patri an filio? Si patri credis arguis filium: si filio credis, accusas patrem. Si enim homo tantum est Christus frustra se præposuit Salomoni contra promissum Dei. Questiones, Ex. T. J. Opera, vol. 4. p. 763.

† Non alienum etiam videtur ut qua ratione fabrum patrem habuerit, declaremus. Hoc enim typo eum patrem sibi esse demonstrat qui fabricator omnium condidit mundum, juxta quod scriptum est, in principio fecit deus cælum et terram. In Luc. 3. Opera, vol. 2. p. 42.



It is the gospel of John that has always furnished the greatest number of proofs of the divinity of Christ, though it is remarkable that, in none of the gospels are there more evident proofs of his proper humanity. But of these no account was made, because they were only considered as proving what was never denied, viz. that Christ had *human nature*. Epiphanius proves the divinity of Christ from the Father being called the *light*, and the Son the *true light* \*. — John the Baptist said, *After me cometh a man, who was before me*. “Here,” says “Theodoret, both the humanity and the divinity of Christ are taught †.”

That it was Christ who spake both in the prophets and in the gospel, Ambrose

\* Και ορα μοι την των γραφων ακριβειαν. εστι μιν διαρπαγη φως, και η προσκειται τω περι πατρος, φως αληθινον. επαιλε τω περι υιου εστι, φως αληθινον, και υδεις τοδε μα αλλως λεγειν. Anconatus, S. 3. Opera, vol 2. p. 8.

† Και ο τετε δε ομνυμεν εβρα λεγων· οτισω με ερχεται ανηρ, ος εμπροσθεν με γεγοεν, οτι πρωτος με ην, και το εν προσωπον δειξαι αμφοτερα πεδνηκε, και τα δεια, και τα ανθρωπινα. ανθρωπινον μεν γαρ, ε το ανηρ ε το, ερχεται· δειον δε το οτι πρωτος με ην. αλλ’ ομωσ εκ αλλον οιδε τον οτισω ερχομενον, και αλλον τον προ αυτε οντα. Epist. 83. Opera, vol. 4. p. 1149. Ed. Halp.

proves

proves from our Saviour's own words, "in  
" foretelling the gospel by Isaiah, I who  
" spake am present. (H. 54. John 16.)  
" i. e. I am present in the gospel, who  
" spake in the law \*."

What John represents our Saviour as saying, *I and my Father are one*, and which had been urged by the Sabellians against those who were then deemed orthodox, was now most strenuously urged by the orthodox, in a more advanced state of the controversy, as a clear proof of Christ having proper divinity as well as the Father; and at the same time, that they did not make *two Gods*.

Origen, interpreting this text, observes, that the Father and Son are two hypostases, but one in unanimity, harmony, "and will †."

\* Atque ut scias imperator Auguste, Christum esse qui loquutus est et in propheta et in evangelio, tanquam in predestinatione evangelii per Esaiam dicit: Ipse qui loquebar adsum: hoc est, adsum in evangelio, qui loquebar in lege. De Fide, lib. 2. cap. 3. Opera, vol. 4. p. 134.

† Ορνοκευομεν εν τω πατερα της αληθειας, και τον υιον την αληθειαν, οντα δυοτη υποστασις πραγματα, εν δε τη ομοιοτητα, και τη συμφωνια, και τη ταυτοτητι το βουληματι. Contra Celsum, lib. 8. p. 386.



This text is urged by Novatian\* ; but Hilary makes it to be heretical to interpret this text to mean unity of consent, or harmony, and not sameness of nature †. Ambrose refines upon it, taking notice, that our Saviour places himself before his Father, “ lest  
“ it should be imagined that he was inferior to him ; whereas it could not be  
“ supposed that the Father was inferior to  
“ the Son †.” But what is more extraordi-

\* Si homo tantummodo Christus ; quid est, quod ait, ego et pater unum sumus ? quomodo enim ego et pater unum sumus, si non et deus est et filius ? qui idcirco unum potest dici dum ex ipso est, et dum filius ejus est, et dum ex ipso nascitur, dum ex ipso processisse reperitur, per quod et deus est. Cap. 15. p. 52.

† Hæc igitur quia hæretici negare non possunt, quippe cum sint tam absolute dicta atque intellecta ; tamen stultissimo impietatis suæ mendacio negando corrumpunt. Id enim quod ait, ego et pater unum sumus, tentant ad unanimi-  
mitatis referre consensum, ut voluntatis in his unitas sit, non naturæ ; id est, ut non per id quod idem sunt, sed per id quod idem volunt, unum sunt. De Trinit. lib. 8. p. 162.

† Pulchre etiam illud præmisit, ego et pater. Nam si patrem præmisisset, tu minorem filium judicares : sed præmisit filium, quem non convenit credi patre superiorem. Hexameron, lib. 6. cap. 7. Opera, vol. I. p. 94.

nary than even this, advantage is taken by Basil of Christ saying, *My Father is greater than I.* "It is," says he, "a proof that they are both of the same nature because things of a different nature are not so compared \*."

Eusebius retained something of the old ideas on this subject, when he said that the Father and Son are one by a communication of the glory which he imparted to his disciples. For thus they also might be admitted into this unity †.

I shall now proceed to note a few proofs of the divinity of Christ from the apostolic epistles. Paul is supposed to say, that Christ was God over all blessed for ever, Rom. ix. 5. This is observed by Nova-

\* Καὶ πάλιν ὁ πατήρ με μείζων με ἐστίν. μετρίον γὰρ καὶ τέλος τῷ ῥητῷ τα ἀχαρίστα κλισματά, τα τε ποτε γενηματά. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς, τὸ ὁμοῦσιν εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ δηλωθῆναι πεπίστευκα. τὰς γὰρ συγκρίσεις οὐδὲ κυρίως ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως γινόμεναις. ἀγγέλου γὰρ ἀγγέλου λεγόμεν μείζονα, καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἀνθρώπου δικαιοτέρου, καὶ πῶλλον πῶλλον ταχυτέρου. εἰ τοιγυν αὖ συγκρίσεις ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοειδῶν γινούσαι· μείζων δὲ καὶ συγκρίσιν εἶναι ὁ πατήρ τε υἱ, ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ ὁ υἱός. Epist. 141. Opera, vol. 3. p. 167.

† Οὕτως γὰρ ἐν εἶναι ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς δόξης, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μαθήταις μελαδίδες τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνώσεως, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦεν. Ec. Theol. lib. 3. cap. 19. p. 193.

tian,



lian, cap. 13. p. 43. and many others. Gregory the Great says, that " Paul alludes to the trinity, in Rom. xi. of him, and by him, and in him, are all things \*."

Both Eusebius and Jerom quote Gal. i. 12. *I received not my doctrine from man, as a proof that Christ, from whom he did receive his gospel, was more than man †.*

Eph. iv. 10. *He that descended, is the same also that ascended,* is urged by Jerom against Ebion and Photinus ‡. Lactantius proves

\* Paulus quoque ut operationem sanctæ trinitatis ostenderet, ait: ex ipso et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia, atque ut unitatem ejusdem trinitatis intimaret, protinus addidit. Ipsi gloria in secula seculorum, amen. In Job. cap. 28. Opera, p. 174. B

† Καν πρώτων, τοις αυτοις ελεγεν, οτι, το ευαγγελιον με, το ευαγγελισθεν εις υμας, κ εστι πατα ανθρωποι, εδς εγω παρα ανθρωπου παρελαβον αυτο, εδς εδιδαχθην, αλλα δι αποκαλυψεως Ιησου χριτου. Δι ον, αυδις, ετι ρη ανθρωπος η φησιν, Ιησους χριστος παρισιν. Contra Marcel. lib. 1. p. 7.

Ex hoc loco Ebionis et Fotini dogma conteritur: quod deus sit Christus, et non tantum homo. Jerom in Gal. cap. 1. Opera, vol. 6. p. 122.

‡ Hic locus adversum Ebionem et Fotinum vel maxime facit. Si enim ipse est ascendens in celos, qui de celis ante descenderat, quomodo dominus noster Jesus Christus non ante Mariam est, sed post Mariam. In Eph. cap. 4. Opera, vol. 6. p. 178.

that

that Christ is both God and man, from his being called *the mediator between God and man* \*. Origen applies to Christ, Rev. i. 11. *I am the beginning and the end* †. Chrysostom proves that Christ is equal to the Father from Christ's saying, *I and my Father will come and take up our abode with him*. "Did ever," he says, "a deputy say concerning his king, *I and my king give orders* ‡."

\* Unde illum Græci μεσσην vocant; ut hominem perducere ad deum posset, id est, ad immortalitatem: quia si deus tantum fuisset (ut supra dictum est) exempla virtutis homini præbere non posset; si homo tantum, non posset homines ad justitiam cogere, nisi auctoritas, ac virtus homine major accederet. Instit. lib. 4: sect. 25. Opera, p. 430.

† Comment. vol. 2. p. 19.

‡ Εἰς τὸ λαλῆσαι ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς διατάσσειν. Ser. 4. Opera, vol. 6. p. 35.



## SECTION III.

*Answers to Objections.*

THE reader will be pleased to see in what manner the orthodox Fathers replied to the principal objections made to their doctrine by the heretics of that early age; and therefore, besides what may be collected to this purpose from other parts of this work, I shall in this place subjoin a few other passages.

One of the principal objections to the divinity of Christ was his being so frequently called *a man*. But, besides its being allowed that he was a man as well as God, which they say sufficiently justifies the language, the author of the Commentary on Matthew, which has been ascribed to Chrysostom, says, that “ God the Father  
“ being called a man in our Saviour’s parable, shows that Christ being called a  
“ man is no objection to his being God \*.”

\* Homo rex dicitur deus pater, qui nunquam humanam suscepit formam: ut intelligamus quia nomen hominis

Another formidable objection to the new doctrine of the divinity of Christ was, that the Father is called *the one God*. But Austin says, “when Christ is called the “one Lord, the lordship of the Father is “not denied; so when the Father is called “the one God, the deity of the Son is not “denied.” Ambrose had said the same before him\*.

Our Saviour says concerning the Father, that he only is *good*, declining the appellation as applied to himself. But, says Athanasius, “our Saviour said that God “only was good, because the person he “was speaking to considered him as a “man†.” Hilary also says, “Christ would

*nis præjudicium non facit divinæ suæ naturæ. In Matt. 22. Hom. 41. Opera, vol. 7. p. 919.*

\* Sicut enim unum dicendo dominum Jesum Christum patrem dominum non negavit; ita unum dicendo deum patrem, æque a deitatis veritate nec filium separavit. *Expositio Fidei, Opera, vol. 5. p. 514.*

† Καὶ ὅταν λέγῃ· τί με λέγετε ἀγαθόν· ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ θεός· συναριθμῶντας ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὴν σὰρκα· τότε εἶπε, πρὸς τὸν νῦν τὸ προσελθόντος αὐτοῦ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀνθρώπον αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζε μόνον καὶ ὁ θεός, καὶ τὸν οὗτος ἔχει τὸν νῦν ἢ ἀποκριθεὶς· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπον, φησί, νομίζεις με, καὶ ὁ θεός, μὴ με λέγε ἀγαθόν· καὶ γὰρ διαφέρει,



"not have refused the appellation of 'good,'  
 "if it had been offered to him as God \*."  
 But Austin is not content to reply to this  
 as an objection; he uses it as an argument  
 in proof of the trinity. "Our Saviour,"  
 says he, "did not say there is none good  
 "but the Father; but there is none good  
 "but one, that is God; including him-  
 "self, and the Holy Spirit, as well as the  
 "Father †." This observation occurs se-  
 veral times in the works of Austin.

The orthodox laid great stress on Christ's  
 being called *the Son of God*, as implying  
 that he was of the *same nature* with God  
 the Father, and therefore that he was pro-  
 perly *God of God*. To this the unita-  
 rians replied, that good men are frequently  
 called the *sons of God*, as well as Christ.

*Πατρις ἀνθρωπίνου φύσεως τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ.* De Hu-  
 mana Natura, Opera, vol. 1. p. 599.

\* Non respuit bonitatis nomen, si sibi hoc tantum deo  
 deputaretur. Lib. 9. p. 197.

† Ideo non ait nemo bonus nisi solus pater, sed nemo  
 bonus nisi solus deus; in patris enim nomine ipse per se  
 pater pronuntiatur, in dei vero et ipse et filius et spiri-  
 tus sanctus, quia trinitas unus deus. De Trinitate, lib. 5.  
 cap. 8. Opera, vol. 3. p. 320.

But

But the universal answer to this objection was that of Jerom; "Christ is the Son of God by nature, but we by adoption\*."

It was alledged by the unitarians, as a proof that Christ was inferior to the Father, that he is said to have been *sent* by him, as if he was subject to his authority. But Ambrose says, "the person sent is not always inferior to him that sends him; for then Christ would be inferior to Pilate, who sent him to Herod†." To this Gennadius adds, that "an angel was sent by Tobiah‡."

To *come forth from the Father* might be interpreted to mean nothing more than being *sent* by the Father, as other prophets were. But Hilary, taking advantage of the literal meaning of the word, says, "To come from the Father, and to come out

\* Et ille quidem natura filius est; nos vero adoptione. In Eph. cap. 1. Opera, vol. 6. p. 162.

† Esto tamen, minor sit qui mittitur, eo a quo mittitur, ergo et Pilato minor Christus, quoniam Pilatus misit eum ad Herodem. De Fide, lib. 5. cap. 3. Opera, vol. 4. p. 191.

‡ Sicut legimus angelum esse missum a Tobia, et Christus missus est a Pilato ad Herodem. Bib. Pat. vol. 5. p. 445.



“ of God, do not mean the same things.  
 “ They differ as much as *to be born*, and  
 “ *to be present* ; since the one is to come  
 “ from God in his nativity, and the other  
 “ to come from the Father into the world,  
 “ for the salvation of men\*.”

The unitarians always laid great stress on Christ's calling the Father *the one true God*. What answer Tertullian made to this objection we have seen already, viz. that *the one God* was the original title of the Father before he had a Son, and therefore, that his having a Son could not deprive him of it. But the general answer was that of Epiphanius, viz. “ that the Father is called the  
 “ one true God, in opposition to the gods  
 “ of the heathens †.” On this subject Jerom farther observes, that “ Christ is also called

\* A patre enim venisse, et a deo exisse, non est significationis ejusdem : et quantum interest inter nasci et adesse tantum a se uterque sermo discernitur ; cum aliud sit a deo in substantia nativitatis exisse, aliud sit a patre in hunc mundum, ad consummanda salutis nostræ sacramenta, venisse. Lib. 6. p. 118.

\* Εν τῷ ἐν εἰπεῖν τοῦ μονοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς μοναρχίαν ἡμᾶς ἡγάγεν • ἵνα μὴ κετὶ ὑπὸ τὰ εὐσεία τῶν κοσμοῦ ὡμεν δεδουλωμένοι, ἵνα μὴ πολυθεῖα ἐν ἡμῖν εἴη ἢ. Sect. 2. Opera, vol. 2. p. 7.

“ the

“the true God, 1 John v. *We are in him that is true, this is the true God, and eternal life\*.*” But Austin even proves the divinity of Christ from this text. For he says, it ought to be read, “that they may know thee, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent, to be the true God†.”

It was objected to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ that he said, *he could do nothing of himself.* But Isidore of Pelusium says, that “this intimated not his weakness, but his strength, as it shewed that he would do nothing contrary to his Father” (meaning, no doubt, that it was in his power) “as he had fallen under a suspicion of being the antagonist of God, and of appropriating glory to himself‡.”

\* Non secundum errorem Arianorum referimus ad personam tantum dei patris de quo scriptum est: ut cognoscent te solum verum deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum: sed ad filium, qui et ipse verus deus est, dicente evangelista Johanne; venit filius dei et dedit nobis mentem, ut cognoscamus verum, et simus in vero filio ejus Jesu Christo. Ille est verus deus et vita æterna. Opera, vol. 4. p. 219.

† Ut hæc sit sententia, te, et quem misisti Jesum Christum, cognoscant unum verum deum. Epist. 174. Opera, vol. 2. p. 785.

‡ Το γὰρ, & δυνατὸν ὁ υἱὸς ποιεῖν ἀπ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἂν ἦν, ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡγορεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστην ῥωμὴν, ὅτι ἀνεπηρέστητος ἐστὶ τῷ παντί, καὶ τῷ



It was objected to the divinity of Christ, that *he prayed to the Father*, as one who was dependent upon him. The general answer to this objection is thus expressed by Damascenus, "Christ being personally united to God, has no need of that ascent of the mind to God in which prayer consists; but having taken human nature upon him, he shewed us a pattern of what was proper for us to do\*." "The *glory* that Christ prayed for," says Hilary, "was not for the word, but for the flesh†." "But Ruffinus says, "Christ was praying

παρὶ τοῖσιν . ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ πτωχὸς παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς ἀνθρώπος, καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν σφαιριζόμενος δοξάζει, τὸ εἶναι. Ep. lib. 3. p. 387.

\* Oratio est mentis ad deum ascensus: aut eorum a deo postulatio, quæ postulare convenit. Qui ergo fiebat, ut dominus in Lazari suscitatione, ac passionis tempore, preces adhiberet? Neque enim sancta ipsius mens ascensione ad deum opus habebat, quippe quæ semel deo personaliter unita esset: nec rursus ei opus erat, ut quicquam a deo postularet. Unus enim Christus est. Nimirum igitur id causæ erat, quod personam nostram sibi ad scisceret, atque id quod nostrum erat, in seipso exprimeret, seque exemplar nobis præberet, nosque a deo postulare, mentesque ad eum erigere doceret. Orthod. Fid. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 426.

† Gloria enim omnis non verbo, sed carni acquirebatur. Lib. 5. p. 211.

" for

“ for his body the church, when he said,  
 “ *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken*  
 “ *me \*?*”

Our Saviour expressly says that his Father was greater than he. But this was generally explained by saying, that he referred to his human nature only. This is the reply of Athanasius, who says, that “ being “ the logos of the Father, he was at the same “ time equal to him†.” But Epiphanius intimates that our Saviour said this as a mere compliment to the Father, such as became a son to make ‡. In the Ancoratus, he says, it was to prove that Christ was the genuine son of the Father ||.

What Paul says concerning the *subjection of Christ to the Father*, who put all things

\* Suscepit mortem pro nobis, et nos fecit corpus suum, pro quo orat ad patrem, cum dicit, deus deus meus, respice in me, quare me dereliquisti? In Ps. xxi. Opera, vol. 2. p. 45.

† Και οτε λεγει ο πατηρ ημς ο περιπατης με μειζων ημς εστιν επι ανθρωπος γεγονεν μειζων αυτης λεγει τον πατερα. λογος δε ων τε πατρος, ισος αυτης εστιν. De Humana Natura, Opera, vol. 1. p. 597.

‡ Τιη γαρ επρεπε δοξαζειν ιδιον πατερα αλλα τω γητω υιω. Hær. 62. Opera, vol. 1. p. 516.

|| Εδει γαρ αληθως τον γησιον υιον τιμην τον ιδιον πατερα να δειξη την γησιουηλα. Ancoratus, Opera, vol. 2. p. 23.



*under his feet* (1 Cor. xv. 24.) was made an objection to the trinitarians, as implying that Christ was certainly inferior to the Father, and that his kingdom was to have an end. "Very many," says Hilary, "think that when all things are subjected to him, Christ will be subject to God; that on account of this subjection he is not God\*." Of this difficulty many solutions were proposed, and some of them curious enough.

Chrysostom says, that "when Paul spake of the subjection of the Son to the Father, he was afraid lest some unreasonable persons should imagine either that the Son was greater than the Father, or that there was another unbegotten principle (*αρχη*)†." Damiani says, that "to deliver up the kingdom to God even the Father, means bringing men to contemp-

\* Plerique enim ita volunt, ut aut dum subjectis omnibus deo subicitur, per conditionem subjectionis deus non fit. De Trinitate, lib. 11. p. 282.

† Εφοβηθη λοιπον μη δια τολο δοξη παρα τισι των αλογολεγων, η μειζων ειναι τε πατρος ο υιος, η ετερα τις αρχη αγεννητος. In 1 Cor. 15. Opera, vol. 9. p. 680.

"late

“late the Father \*.” Gregory Nyssen says, that “the subjection of Christ to the Father, means the subjection of the body of Christ, which is his church†.” He afterwards says, “his body is all human nature, with which he is mixed‡.” This last idea will receive some illustration from what I have observed with respect to the supposed *use* of the incarnation of the logos.

However, it was the general opinion of the Fathers, that Christ will not cease to reign when all things shall be put under him. Eusebius says, “Christ does not cease to reign when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father ||.” Jerom says, “Christ will rather begin than cease to reign, when his enemies shall be put un-

\* Cum tradere regnum deo patri nihil aliud sit juxta sobrium intellectum, nisi perducere credentes ad contemplandam speciem dei patris Epist. Bib. Pat. App. p. 485.

† Και εως η τε σωματος τευ υποταγη, αυτη λεγεται ειναι τε υιυ υποταγη, τε ανακεκροσμενη προς το ιδιον σωμα, οπερ εστιν η εκκλησια. In 1 Cor. xv. 28. Opera, vol. 1. p. 847.

‡ Σωμα δε αυτη, καθως ειηται πολλακις, πασα η ανθρωπινη φυσις, η καλειμχθη. Ibid. p. 849.

|| Βασιλευων δε τοις ο υιος τε δεσ, τες υπ αυτω βασιλευμενες παλαις, τω αυτω παραδωσει παλοι, ε παυσαμενος της βασιλειας, εδ ανχωρων αυτης. Ec. Theol. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 187.



“der his feet \*,” meaning, probably, that all obstacles would then be removed, and that he would reign in peace; and in this, many of the moderns concur with him.

The orthodox were not a little embarrassed with Christ’s saying, that places at his right hand and at his left, were not his to give, but that they would be bestowed as his Father pleased. Basil of Seleucia says, “this is to be understood as if he had said, “you are not worthy to receive it, shew me “your deserts, and then I will shew my “power †.” To the same purpose, Cyril of Alexandria says, that “those places were “not to be given at all, but were to be the “reward of merit ‡.”

\* Num quid tamdiu regnaturus est dominus, donec incipiant esse inimici sub pedibus ejus; et postquam illi sub pedibus fuerint, regnare desistat, cum utique tunc magis regnare incipiet, cum inimici cæperint esse sub pedibus. Ad. Helvid. Opera, vol. 2. p. 311.

† Και νυν λεγεις, εκ ειν εμον δυναι; δια τι; επειδη της τε λαμ-  
βανοντος αξιας, & της τε διδοντος εξουσιας μονον το δωρον. καματων αδ-  
λον ο θρονος, & φιλοτιμιας το χαρισμα. εκ καλορδωματων ο θρονος, εκ  
εξ αιησεως η δοσις. δεixon μοι την σην αξιαν, & βλεπε την εμην εξ-  
ουσιαν. Or. 24. Opera, p. 135.

‡ Non est meum dare: non enim certandi munera sic mihi proposita sunt ut velim petentibus dare quibuscunque,

After this fair exhibition of the doctrine of the trinity from the writers of the age in which it was advanced ; having seen the absurdity of the principles from which it originated, and the still greater absurdities into which it was afterwards carried ; and also after seeing the wretched illustrations, and miserable defences that were made of it, can we wonder at its being sometimes treated with ridicule, and sometimes regarded with abhorrence, by the unitarians of that age ; or that it should have exposed christianity to the derision of unbelievers, notwithstanding it was originally calculated to gain over the more philosophical part of them. The orthodox made heavy complaints on this subject, of which several specimens have been given already. They particularly say, that they did not know how to speak of Christ without giving an advantage to some or other of their adversaries. “ If Christ,” says Jerom, “ be  
 “ called a man, Ebion and Photinus take

sed illis solum qui certando superabunt. Thesaurus, lib. 10. cap. 5. Opera, vol. 2. p. 300.



“the advantage; if he be called a god,  
“Manes and Marcion †.”

“With respect to the divinity of Christ,”  
says Photius, “to acknowledge three ef-  
“fences is polytheism, and consequently  
“atheism, and to assert one hypostasis, is  
“Judaism and Sabellianism. And with  
“respect to his humanity, to say there is  
“one nature and one hypostasis, is Mani-  
“chæism, and to say that there are two  
“natures and two hypostases, is Pauli-  
“anism †.”

The orthodox were charged with hold-  
ing different opinions concerning the tri-  
nity, and a great variety of such opinions  
have been exhibited. Gregory Nazianzen  
denies this, and says, that “the difference in  
“other things, which he allows, was not so

\* Si Christum fateatur hominem, Ebion, Fotinus, que  
subrepunt; si deum esse contenderit: Manichæus et Mar-  
cion. In Gal. cap. 1. Opera, vol. 6. p. 120.

† Ὡς περ ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας, καὶ το, τρεῖς ὁμολογεῖν ὀψίας, πωλυθεον  
καὶ δια τριῶ ἀδελφῶν. καὶ το μίαν λεγεῖν ὑπόστασιν, Ἰουδαϊκὸν καὶ Σαβελλιαν.  
καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας, το τε μίαν φύσιν φρονεῖν καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν  
Μανιχαϊκὸν καὶ ἀποβλητικόν. καὶ το δυο φύσεις, καὶ δυο ὑποστάσεις, Παν-  
τανιστὴν καὶ μισοχριστὸν. Epist. p. 95.

“great

“great as their adversaries pretended, that  
 “they were in part composed, and would be  
 “entirely so \*.” They were, however,  
 no farther composed than the authority of  
 councils, and that of the civil powers, were  
 able to do it; and this prophecy concerning  
 the total cessation of those differences has  
 never been fulfilled; nor is there any pro-  
 spect that it ever will.

From the very beginning it has been  
 seen that the orthodox were charged with  
 making more gods than one. This appears  
 by the apologies which all the orthodox  
 writers make on this subject. Among  
 others, see Novatian †. And this com-

\* Ου γὰρ περὶ θεοῦ διπλῆς διπλῆς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐλαξίας ἡγωνισ-  
 μέθα, ἐδ' ὁπότεράν δι τῶν ἀσεβειῶν ἐλεσθῆναι μάλλον ἡμισυβήνομεν,  
 εἰς τὴν συναρῆσαν θεόν, ἢ τὴν τεμεῖνσαν· εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα μόνον ἀπὸ τῆς  
 θεικῆς ἰσῆς, εἰς τὸν υἱὸν πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα, τὴν μὲν μοῖραν, ἢ τὰς  
 δύο τῆς ἀσεβείας· ταῦτα γὰρ ὡς ἐν κεφαλῇ περιλαβεῖν, τὰ νῦν ἀρρω-  
 στήματα.— Ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν θεοῦ, συμφρονέμεν τε καὶ συμβαίνομεν,  
 ἐκ ἡττοῦ ἢ πρὸς ἐαυτὴν ἢ θεοῦ· (εἰ μὴ μέγα τέλοσ' εἶπεν) καὶ γενομένη·  
 — Ἀλλὰ δε εἶν ὑπὲρ ὧν διπλῆς διπλῆς· κακῶς μὲν καὶ περὶ τέλων, καὶ γὰρ  
 ἀρῆτομαι. Τὰ μὲν ἐν ἡμετέροις ἡμεῖς ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διαλελυμένα καὶ  
 διαλυτομένα. Ἐγὼ τῆς εἰρήνης εὐλύτης, ὁ μικρὸς τε τοσούτοις πρᾶ-  
 ματος. Or. 13. Opera, p. 207.

† Et imprimis illud retorquendum in istos qui duorum  
 nobis deorum controversiam fecere præsumunt. Cap. 30.  
 p. 118.



plaint continued till the latest periods, and appears not to have been less after the council of Nice than before. Basil says, "We are accused of blasphemy against God \*." There is extant, a whole tract of Basil's against those who calumniated the orthodox, on account of their worshipping three Gods †.

Gregory Nyssen complains, that he and his friends were "accused of preaching three Gods, that this accusation was founded in the ears of the multitude, and made to appear very plausible to them ‡."

In a Commentary on the book of Job, published among the works of Origen, but written probably by some Arian, we have heavy complaints of the trinitarian doctrine, called the heresy of three Gods, as a

\* Εγκαλῶμεθα γὰρ τῇ εἰς θεὸν βλασφημίᾳ. Epist. 79. Opera, vol. 3. p. 140.

† Om. 28. Opera, vol. 1. p. 534.

‡ Τρεῖς θεοὺς πρεσβευέσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν αἰωνίῳ, καὶ περιγεῖν τὰς σκοπὰς τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ πιδανὺς καὶ ἀσθενεῖς τὴν διαβολὴν ταύτην, καὶ πᾶν ὄντα. De Trinitate, vol. 2 p. 437.

type of which the devil made three horns, or three bands, to plunder Job. It has, he says, filled the whole world, as with darkness \*.

The writer of the Homilies on Matthew, falsely ascribed to Chrysostom, frequently inveighs against the doctrine of the trinity; speaking of it as the heresy foretold by Christ to overspread the world, under the emblem of *briars* and *thorns*; and alluding to the word *tribulus*, he calls it *the triangular heresy* †.

\* Tria cornua fecit diabolus in typum atque figuram trionymæ sectæ, triumque deorum hæresis, quæ universum orbem terræ in modum tenebrarum replevit, quæ patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum aliquando tres colit, nonnunquam unum adorat, quemadmodum Græcorum lingua memoratur: triada vel homousion. Istam ergo trinitatis sectam et hæresim atque in fidelitatem jam olim de longe designans versutissimus ille diabolus tria cornua misit ad Job deprædandum, sic namque etiam nunc memorata trionyma hæresis, præsertim prædatur atque expugnat ecclesiam. Lib. 1. vol. 1. p. 393.

† Et verum est quidem, quia spinas et tribulos omnes iniquos hæreticos appellavit: tamen forsitan sciens dominus hanc hæresim esse prævalituram præ omnibus tribulos eos appellavit, quasi trinitatis professores, et triangulam impietatem in sua perfidia bajulantes. Hom. 19. p. 842.



Nor were the heathens less backward than the christians to upbraid the orthodox Fathers with their own polytheism, while they pretended to reclaim them from theirs. The heathens, according to Chrysostom, would say to them, "Who is this Father, " who is this Son, or this Holy Spirit? " Do not you make three Gods, while you " accuse us of polytheism \*?"

In ridicule of the christian doctrine of the trinity, one of the speakers in Lucian's *Philopatris*, bidding the other to swear " by " the Supreme God, by the Son of the Fa- " ther, and by the Spirit proceeding from " the Father, one out of three, and three " out of one, and to consider it as being Ju- " piter;" the other answers, " You make " me have recourse to numeration, and give " me an arithmetical oath — I know not " what you say, *one three, and three one*†."

\* Αν τῶντων ἐρήται τις ἐλλήνων τις πότε ἐστὶν υἱὸς ὁ πατήρ; τις δὲ ὁ υἱὸς; τις δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; ἢ πῶς καὶ ὑμεῖς τρεῖς λεγοντες θεοὺς ἡμῖν ἐγκαλεῖτε πολυθεῖαν. In John i. Opera, vol. 8. p. 91.

† Καὶ τίνα ἐπομοσώμαι γε; Τρεῖ. ὑψιμέδοντα θεόν, μέγαν, ἀμβρόσιον, κρανιώνα, υἱὸν πατρός, πνεῦμα ἐκ πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον, ἐν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς τρία ταῦτα νομίζε. Ζῆνα τοῦδ' ἡγε θεόν. Κρι. ἀριθμεῖν με διδάσκεις, καὶ ὅρκος ἡ ἀριθ. μῆλικη. καὶ γὰρ ἀριθμεῖς ὡς Νικομαχος ὁ γε-  
ραστής.

Julian, who had himself been educated a christian, and was acquainted with the scriptures, charges the orthodox with grossly misrepresenting them, in order to make out their favourite doctrine of the divinity of Christ. To shew in what light he considered their conduct, I shall quote several passages from his writings. "Moses," he says, "taught one only God, and said, "that he had many sons, to whom the "countries were distributed; but no only "begotten Son, no God the logos, such as "you afterwards falsely substituted. This he "neither knew from the first, nor taught\*." "If he would have no one to be worshipped, "why do you worship his Son, and one "whom he never considered as his proper "Son, as I can easily shew; but you, I do "not know how, have obtruded him†."

φαισητος. εκ οιδα γαρ τι λεγεις, εν τρια, τρια εν. Opera, vol. 2. p. 998.

\* \* Ενα χ' μονον εδιδασκε θεον, υις δε αυτε πολλας τις καλανεμα-  
μενους τα εθνη· πρωτογονον δε υιον, η θεον λογον. ηλι των αφ υμων υιτρον  
ψευδως συνθετων δε, εις ηδει και αρχην, εις εδιδασκε φανερως. Cy-  
ril contra Jul. Juliani, lib. 8. Opera, vol. 2. p. 290.

† Ει γαρ υδεναι θελει προσκυνεισθαι, τε χαριν τον υιον τειλον προκυ-  
τειλε, χ' ον εκεινος ιδιον εις ενομισεν, εθ ηγησατο πωπολε; χ' δεειν γε  
τειλο.



He reproaches the christians with calling Jesus the logos of God \*. Speaking to them he says, “ you are so unfortunate as not to  
 “ abide by what was taught by the apostles,  
 “ but have added things that are worse,  
 “ and more impious to those that were  
 “ held before. For neither Paul, nor Mat-  
 “ thew, nor Luke, nor Mark, dared to  
 “ call Jesus God, but only that good man  
 “ John †.”

He tells them that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ is not to be found in the Old Testament. Speaking of the prophecy of Isaiah, ch. vii. 4, &c. he says, “ he does  
 “ not say that a virgin shall bring forth a  
 “ god, but you always call Mary the mo-

τέλο ραδιῶς. υμεῖς δὲ, κκ οἱδ' ὅθεν, υποβλήλον αὐτῷ προτιθέτε. Ibid. lib. 5. vol. 2. p. 159.

\* Καὶ τῶν μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἕδνα προσκυνεῖν τοῖμαίε· οὐ δὲ εἰς οἱ υμεῖς εἰς οἱ πατέρες υμῶν εὐρακασιν Ἰαθεὺν οἰσθε χρημαὶ θεὸν λόγον ὑπαρχεῖν. Epist. 51. Opera, vol. 1. p. 434.

† Οὐτῷ δὲ εἶγε δυστυχεῖς, ὡς δὲ τοῖς ὑπο τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν παρα-  
 δεδομένοις ἐκμεμενημαίε, καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖρον καὶ δυσσεβέστερον. ὑπο  
 τῶν ἐπιγινόμενων ἐξεργασθῇ. τὸν γὰρ Ἰησοῦν εἰς Παῦλος ἐβόλησεν εἰπεῖν  
 θεὸν, εἰς Ματθαῖον· εἰς Λουκᾶν, εἰς Μάρκον· ἀλλ' ὁ χρηστός Ἰωάννης,  
 αἰσθόμενος ἤδη πολὺ πληθὺν ἐαλωκότων ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν ἐλληνικῶν καὶ  
 Ἰταλιανικῶν πόλεων ὑπο ταύτης τῆς νοσε. Cyril contra Jul. lib.  
 10. Juliani, Opera, vol. 2. p. 327.

“ ther

“ther of God. Where does he say that  
 “he who shall be born of a virgin, shall  
 “be the only begotten son of God, the  
 “first born of all creation? As to what is  
 “said by John, *all things were made by him,*  
 “*and without him was not any thing made*  
 “*that was made,* can any person shew this  
 “in the prophets? But attend to what I  
 “can shew out of them. O Lord God  
 “possess us, we know no other besides  
 “thee. King Hezekiah is represented by  
 “them as praying, O Lord God of Israel,  
 “who fittest upon the cherubim, thou  
 “art God alone. He leaves no room for  
 “any other\*.”

From this passage it is evident that Julian understood the scriptures much better than the orthodox Fathers. But he was

\* Μηλι θεον φησιν εκ της παρθενου τεχθησεσθαι; θεολογον δε ημεις  
 & παυσεσθε Μαριαν καλιντες. η μη πως φησι τον εκ της παρθενου γεν-  
 νουμενον υιον θεου μονογενη & πρωτοτοκον πασης κτισεως; αλλα το λεγο-  
 μενον υπο Ιωαννης \* παντα δι αυτης εγενετο, & χωρις αυτης εγενετο υδε εν,  
 εχει τις εν ταις προφηταιαις δειξαι φωναις; α δε ημεις δεικνυμεν, εξ  
 αυτων εκεινων εξης ακριβει. Κυριε ο θεος ημων κησαι ημας, εκλος σε  
 αλλον ου οιδαμεν. πεποιθιται δε παρ αυτων & Εζεχιας ο βασιλευς  
 ευχομενος. Κυριε ο θεος Ισραηλ, ο καθημενος επι των χειρεδω, συ ει  
 ο θεος μονος. μηλι τω δουλεω καταλειπεται χωραν. Cyril contra  
 Julianum, lib. 8. Juliani, Opera, vol. 2, p. 262.

acquainted



acquainted with Plotinus, and therefore, must have known that all the christians were not such absurd interpreters of the scriptures, or such favourers of polytheism. But the public reproaches of christianity, must always fall on the most conspicuous professors of it, and those, who, in consequence of having the countenance of government, will always be the most numerous. And while the absurd polytheism, the rise and progress, of which I have described, had this great advantage, it set at equal defiance the indignation of the oppressed unitarians, and the sneers of the unbelieving heathens.

After what has been exhibited in this work, we cannot wonder at the complaint of Ruffinus, who says, "the Pagans are wont to object to us that our religion, being deficient in reason, consists in the mere force of believing\*."

Having given so much attention to the doctrine of the trinity; having traced it from its rise; having followed it through

\* Pagani nobis objicere solent quod religio nostra, quia rationibus deficit, in sola credendi persuasione, consistat. In Symbol. p. 171.

all its variations, and seen what its original advocates were able to say in its defence, I shall in the next place invite my reader to give the same impartial attention to the history of the ancient unitarians. This, however, will be attended with the melancholy reflection, that while the greatest and most alarming of all errors kept taking deeper root, and flourished under the protection of the wisdom and power of the world, the simple truth of the gospel was almost confined to the unlearned, who were first despised, and then cruelly persecuted, till, in the age of ignorance, barbarity, and antichristian tyranny, that overspread the christian world, it was nearly exterminated. A vigorous seed, however, remained alive, *the scriptures* which taught that doctrine were not lost, and in more favourable circumstances (prepossessed as the minds of men were in favour of extraneous doctrines) they came to be better understood; and then the first, the greatest, and the clearest of all religious truths began to be perceived. Its advocates are now increasing



every day; so as to give us the glorious prospect of *unitarianism* being in time, the belief of all the christian world. And this, we doubt not, will be followed by a still more glorious event, that of the whole world becoming christian.

But, however, we must not forget, that the power of the christian religion is not confined to the christian world. It is a power which is to be exerted in all parts of the world.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Unitarianism, and then, in the next place, the christian religion, and then, in the next place, the christian religion, and then, in the next place, the christian religion.



Unitarianism, and then, in the next place, the christian religion, and then, in the next place, the christian religion, and then, in the next place, the christian religion.

